



Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative

SUZANNE M. YEAGER

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JERUSALEM IN MEDIEVAL NARRATIVE

During the early medieval period, crusading brought about new ways of writing about the city of Jerusalem in Europe. By creating texts that embellished the historical relationship between the Holy City and England, English authors endowed their nation with a reputation of power and importance. In *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative*, Suzanne Yeager identifies the growth of medieval propaganda aimed at rousing interest in crusading, and analyzes how fourteenth-century writers refashioned their sources to create a substantive (if fictive) English role in the fight for Jerusalem. Centering on medieval identity, this study offers new assessments of some of the fourteenth century's most popular works, including English pilgrim itineraries, political treatises, the romances *Richard, Coer de Lyon* and *The Siege of Jerusalem*, and the prose *Book of Sir John Mandeville*. This study will be an essential resource for the study of medieval literary history, travel, crusade, and the depiction of Jerusalem in medieval literature.

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Abbreviations

- CCCM* *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 200 vols. Turnhout: Brepols, 1971–.
- CCSL* *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, 176 vols. Turnhout: Brepols, 1954–65.
- CSEL* *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, ed. Academia Litterarum Vindobonensis, 95 vols. Lipsiae: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, 1866–.
- EETS ES* *Early English Text Society*, Extra Series, 124 vols. London: Trübner & Co., 1867–1927.
- EETS OS* *Early English Text Society*, Original Series, 326 vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1864–.
- EETS SS* *Early English Text Society*, Supplementary Series, 22 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1970–.
- HA* Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley, *RS* 28A, 2 vols. London: Offices of the Rolls Society, 1863.
- HS ES* *Hakluyt Society*, Extra Series, 33 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905–.
- LIM* *Liber Ioannis Mandevil*, ed. Richard Hakluyt. In *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1589), *HS ES* 39, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), vol. 1, pp. 23–79. [Latin Vulgate Version]
- MED* *The Middle English Dictionary*, eds. Hans Kurath, Sherman M. Kuhn, Robert E. Lewis, *et al.*, vols. A–Z. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1954–2001.

- MGH, *Scriptores* *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, 17 vols. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1922–94.
- OED *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edition, eds. J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, 20 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989–.
- PPTS *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts Society*, 13 vols. London: London Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1896–7.
- RES *Review of English Studies*, 53 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925–.
- RHC, *Doc.Arm.* *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Documents Arméniens*, ed. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1967.
- RHC, *Occ.* *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, ed. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 5 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1844–95.
- RHC, *Orient.* *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Orientaux*, ed. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 5 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1872–98.
- RS *Rolls Series: Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, ed. Master of the Rolls, 99 vols. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858–96.
- TBJM *The Defective Version of Mandeville's Travels*, ed. M. C. Seymour, EETS OS 319. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- YLS *The Yearbook of Langland Studies*, 17 vols. East Lansing, MI: Colleagues Press, 1987–.

Introduction: texts and contexts

O England great cause thou hast glad for to be
Compared to the Land of Promise, Sion,
Thou attainest grace to stand in that degree
Through this gracious Lady's supportacion,
To be called in every realm and region
The Holy Land, Our Lady's Dowry:
Thus art thou named of old antiquity.

– from the “Walsingham Ballad”¹

Jerusalem has been represented for more than two millennia as a recurrent object of travelers' desire. Viewed as the cradle of three faiths – Christianity, Islam, and Judaism – the city serves simultaneously as the home of the Holy Sepulchre, the Dome of the Rock, and place of the Temple. In all cases the sacred city held and, for some, continues to hold value as the locus of scriptural and devotional imagination for the People of the Book. This study explores texts made by English medieval Christian writers who characterized the holy city in a multiplicity of ways. By the fourteenth century, English authors had, readily available to them, fully developed symbolic terms with which to describe Jerusalem. This terminology, enriched for over a millennium by figures such as Augustine, John Cassian, Gregory the Great, Bede, and many others, contributed to the theological refinement of the city's many senses. Likewise, in the hands of English, fourteenth-century writers, the holy city was like a palimpsest ready for inscription. Drawing from a rich inheritance of symbolic interpretation, these authors represented Jerusalem as many things, including the image of heaven, the Christian soul, the home of first-century Hebrews, the Christian Church, the cloister, crusader holding, object of competition, peace among Christians, scriptural mnemonic, and symbol of one's homeland.

In identifying England with the Holy Land, the aforementioned “Walsingham Ballad,” widely known to fifteenth-century English pilgrims,

illustrates one of the interpretations of place important to Christian devotion considered in this book. English writers were not alone in identifying their country with the Holy Land; indeed, contemporary French authors maintained a tradition that associated their own audiences with that region from the time of Charlemagne. Similar tropes appear in later English medieval writing: in the works studied here, England's relationship with Jerusalem was crucial to perceptions of English political authority and religious morality. The following chapters assess medieval narratives that illustrate English medieval desire for this site of devotion. The nine texts whose associations with the holy city are discussed here circulated in fourteenth- through early sixteenth-century England. These selected pilgrim guidebooks, romances, prose narratives, devotional poems, and items of political correspondence were among the most popular works of their day; in addition, some less well-known pieces included here held great influence over public policy makers. By examining all of these texts, it becomes clear that Jerusalem-inspired crusade rhetoric was disseminated broadly in late medieval England, and that this discourse worked to define the Christian audience there as sacred and politically authoritative. In each case, these narratives borrow the tropes of crusading to create an expression of the militant zeal with which Jerusalem must be won. As this study shows, English ideals of communal identity were shaped by this rhetoric that would define England as a most holy nation, foremost among its European peers. The language originally developed to promote crusade was deployed by later English writers to describe conflicts between England and France, justifying the English position in the Papal Schism and sanctioning the violence of the Hundred Years War. In the uses of crusade rhetoric and Jerusalem's image recast, we see how religious desire and political discourse are brought together in the context of the sacred.

IMAGINING JERUSALEM IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY
ENGLAND

European Christian perceptions of Jerusalem's numinous qualities heightened the competition for this religious resource, for the city was perceived by many as a relic in its own right. The basis of this belief stems from medieval theology which stipulated that everyday objects, such as cloth and soil, became imbued with divine power once they had touched the original remains of a sacred body. These "contact relics" could include pieces of tombs, oil from funerary lamps, and the dust in and near burial sites.² While Jerusalem itself did not constitute the physical remains of a

certain saint or Christ, it was perceived to derive its holiness from the biblical figures who had inhabited it, and through its role in the Passion. For instance, one anonymous medieval visitor wrote that the pit where Helena discovered the true cross received the same reverence as that accorded to pieces of the original.³ Dust from the tomb of the Holy Sepulchre enjoyed particular popularity as a relic and souvenir ever since Augustine had observed that miracles were worked by it.⁴ Also desirable were flasks of oil said to be exuded from surfaces at the sacred sites.⁵ Some travelers chipped away stone from important monuments, necessitating the shrines' physical protection by human guards or sturdy coverings.⁶ Pilgrims also were known to take exact measurements of the Tomb of the Holy Sepulchre in order to aid their memories and devotions regarding their pilgrimage. Some visitors created their own contact relics: devotees placed boards on the holy sites, cut these planks to the exact size of the object they revered, and brought the copy home with them.⁷ As I find in this study, some pilgrim narratives were regarded as contact relics of a special kind.

Jerusalem was prized by many Christians as a witness of biblical history, providing concrete evidence of Christ's existence, devotional contact with Christ himself, and an interactive landscape in which to earn spiritual rewards. Because Christ had chosen that place as his earthly home, it was considered blessed by God and the prophets.⁸ Eschatologically, the Bible predicted that the Last Judgment would take place near there. As mentioned earlier, the city also served as an exegetical representation of the human soul, for, just as Jerusalem had suffered at the hands of its many historical invaders, the Christian soul was perceived as constantly threatened by the wiles of the devil. The city was also viewed as the reflection of the "real," holy, and celestial one.⁹ It was this Celestial Jerusalem that all medieval Christians sought; thus every Christian, whether or not he or she visited the earthly city, could imagine his or her life on earth as a pilgrimage.¹⁰ Because of the enormous reliquary value placed on the terrestrial city, many other pilgrimages were of spiritual value only in so far as they were considered an imitation of the journey to Jerusalem. It is true that certain shrines boasted their own particular attractions, such as cures for blindness from the statue of St. Foy at Fécamp, the healing of skin diseases from the waters at Canterbury, or penance fulfilled in Rome. Jerusalem, however, because of its Christological, exegetical, historical, and eschatological significance, was thought to exceed all other pilgrimages in spiritual rewards.¹¹

Because of its associations with the life of Christ, Jerusalem came to be used as a mnemonic device recalling biblical events for those reading or

hearing about its description, or actually visiting the sites. Some hoped to follow Christ's footsteps, and so enact a form of compassion with their God. For the devotional exercise of meditation on the life of Christ, this land was ideal for its identifiable landmarks which could, in turn, facilitate memory and devotion. Deploying the *ars memoriae*, visitors could feel they inhabited the events of scripture as they progressed through the Holy Land. This process of remembrance was related to Christian ecclesiastical ideas about memory function as discussed by Augustine in his *Confessiones*. This work categorizes the process of remembering abstractions, such as events and ideas, in relation to physical places, such as "fields" and "spacious palaces" [campos / lata praetoria], allowing for their easier recall.¹² In the mind, objects of memory were to be stored in "certain rather secret receptacles" for later use, when they could be extracted from a "treasury of memory" [in abstrusioribus quibusdam receptaculis / ex . . . thesauro memoriae].¹³ Just as memories could be assigned to specific locations such as castles and fields, Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski have shown that biblical structures also were used as storehouses of memory, and that these places served as reminders of scriptural events.¹⁴ Records of pilgrim experience tell us that from at least the fourth century, Jerusalem's visitors received instruction in these memory techniques from their guides who associated abstract scriptural narratives with physical sites. Travelers' texts illustrate that such associations between location and biblical event were handed down with few changes, over time. The standardization of the Jerusalem tour offered the possibility of sharing and regulating the interpretation of the place to the extent that, by the fourteenth century, the practice of imagining the holy city had been codified by the texts which surrounded it. From a later medieval standpoint, the terrestrial city of Jerusalem, along with the maps, literature, and diagrams connected with it, was viewed by western Christians as a concrete representation of their faith, authority, and power. Access to the real, existing structures allowed Christian visitors to share objects in common not only for enabling devotion, but also for systematizing a means of public, communal memory.

ENGLISH PILGRIMS AND THE NEGOTIATIONS OF
JERUSALEM TRAVEL

In this study, the works by pilgrims Richard Torkington, William Wey, and an anonymous fourteenth-century author offer a picture of what challenges and rewards the journey involved. The guidebooks they

produced, the early sixteenth-century *Diarie of Englysshe Travell*, the mid-fifteenth-century *Itineraries*, and the fourteenth-century *Itinerarium cuiusdam Anglici, 1344–45*, respectively, illustrate how readily English writers adopted portions of pre-existing accounts into their narratives, accepting other pilgrims as authorities on various holy sites, sometimes without corroborating the evidence themselves. That this textual community included a broad spectrum of European authors is seen in the cross-pollination of itineraries originating from England and the Continent, and also from Jerusalem, where, beginning in the fourteenth century, a standard written source may have been circulated in many languages by the Franciscan friars. Likewise, portrayals of the Islamic presence in Jerusalem were passed down in relatively unchanged form, perpetuating an overtly negative Christian view of Islam. The Islamic groups, universally referred to as “Saracens” in these texts, are depicted as threatening to Christian safety and as adversaries against whom to unify.¹⁵ In fact, the very danger that Muslim peoples represented enabled a specific kind of Christian devotion. These interpretations of Jerusalem and its inhabitants, available to many European medieval audiences by means of guidebooks and other forms, show the influence of crusading ideologies on late medieval writing about the holy city. In recording the challenges that they faced on the road, pilgrims identified themselves with martyrs who had suffered on behalf of their associations with the city, including crusaders, saints, other pilgrims, and Christ himself.

Although the pilgrimage was at once expensive and physically difficult for English travelers – costing an estimated year’s wages and lasting several months – many made the journey. Indeed, the English were known as such avid travelers that English medieval writers, inspired by natural philosophers, sought to explain this predilection through scientific means: John Gower, in his fourteenth-century discussion of the elements and their relation to humanity, reasons that the English are wont to travel because they are governed by the moon. He explains that, unlike the French who are ruled by Mercury and therefore lazy and slow to travel, the English are predisposed to wander:

Bot what man under his pouer
Is bore, he schal his places change
And seche manye londes strange:
And as of this condicion
The Mones disposicion
Upon the lond of Alemaigne
Is set, and ek upon Bretaigne,

Which nou is cleped Engeland;
For thei travaile in every lond.¹⁶

John Mandeville, too, writes that English people are destined to roam because of the influence of the moon on the seventh climate, which they inhabit:

And in oure contrey is alle the contrarie, for wee ben in the seuenthe clymat that is of the mone, and the mone is of lyghtly mevyng and the mone is planete of weye. And for that skylle is yeueth vs wille of kynde for to meve lyghtly and for to go dyuerse weyes and to sechen strange thinges and other dyuersitees of the world, for the mone envyrouneth the erthe more hastyly than any other planete.¹⁷

Likewise, chronicler Ranulf Higden attributed the natural curiosity of the English to their penchant for travel.¹⁸ Even writers in the later medieval period note – albeit some with less enthusiasm than their predecessors – the English desire to go on pilgrimage.

ENGLISH CRUSADING IDENTITIES: ORIGINS AND CONTEXTS

Pilgrims and crusaders alike recognized Jerusalem's importance; in fact, medieval crusading developed, at least discursively, as a form of itinerant devotion. Almost two hundred years after King Richard I of England deployed his armies in the Middle East, English romance writers referred to his crusade as a "visit to the Lord's Sepulchre," and to Richard as "Goddes owne pilgrim." In present-day terms, the real nature of the campaign appears cloaked in euphemism which substitutes the actions of the bellicose soldier with that of a peaceful pilgrim. However, the conflation of pilgrimage and crusade in medieval practice is not new, and many historians have explored how these seemingly opposing elements often fit together. Hans Eberhard Mayer writes that during the Middle Ages, crusade, known as *expeditio*, *iter in terram sanctam*, or *peregrinatio*, was another type of pilgrimage; only in this case, the pilgrims bore arms.¹⁹ No Latin word for "crusade" entered into use in England or the Continent until the mid-thirteenth century; until then, approximations such as *passagium*, *passagium generale*, and *expeditio crucis* were used.²⁰ Indeed, it appears that the English word *crusade* in its current usage appeared as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²¹ Linguistically, the phenomenon of crusade as distinct from pilgrimage never really existed in the medieval period.²² Other likenesses related the two

activities; for instance, pilgrims and crusaders both wore similarly distinctive clothing, for the former carried the characteristic scrip and staff while the latter wore the sign of the cross. Also, both groups were distinguished from other travelers by an official liturgical rite. On a legal basis, James Brundage has shown that in the eyes of twelfth-century canonists, crusaders were, for the most part, indistinct from pilgrims, since both enjoyed similar rights and privileges.²³ Nevertheless, substantial dissimilarities existed – most importantly, crusaders were awarded differential indulgences and were expected to bear arms.²⁴ The focus of this study is not to locate further contrasts between medieval pilgrimage and crusade, but rather to recognize and explore medieval portrayals of militant crusade as they were inflected by devotion, and to note how, in turn, the rhetoric of crusading came to influence late-medieval English writing about Jerusalem.

In the texts discussed here, depictions of the Holy Land adhere to a descriptive mode established around the time of the First Crusade. The several chronicle sources representing Pope Urban II's sermon at Clermont render Jerusalem as heaven on earth, a literal dwelling place for humanity, a sacred object for adoration, and the rightful possession of western Christendom. This portrayal was designed to compel crusading recruitment, and lasted well into the thirteenth century. There is no authoritative account of the pope's sermon of 1095, but there were many chroniclers who wrote of the event, claiming a place as eye-witness, or that they had heard about it from a reliable source. Marcus Bull has outlined the cautions involved with using these reports as accurate accounts of Urban's speech, but also has identified useful patterns among the versions of the sermon, suggesting a dual emphasis on "the circumstances in which the Holy Land, and especially Jerusalem, found itself," and on "the actions and characteristics of the Muslims there."²⁵ These two topics were woven into subsequent European crusading sermons regarding the Holy Land in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.²⁶ In the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century narratives discussed in this study, this binary continues to influence pilgrim writing, romance, prose works, devotional poetry, and political missives; indeed, these two negotiating points appear repeatedly in the texts mentioned here, to the extent that I propose that they offer a means with which Christian communities defined themselves collectively and individually, by representing their resistance to Islam, and support for Jerusalem.

This militant language, reliant as it was on religious devotion toward the holy city, constitutes part of what I call crusade rhetoric in this study.

These tropes associated with crusading were shaped by early perceptions of divine right. According to the reports of Urban's rationale, because "Deus hoc vult" [God wills it], the Christian armies who pursued the campaign would find immediate success. As Penny Cole has demonstrated, these sentiments about Jerusalem such as those attributed to Urban had been long in the making.²⁷ Likewise, after Clermont, crusade rhetoric continued to adapt itself to the subsequent fortunes of the campaigns. Following the First Crusade and its successes confirming European beliefs about Christian potency, the Second and Third Crusades brought failure not only in the surrender of Jerusalem, but also through substantial loss of life, territory, and other valued relics. These poor results brought many to ask how these events could align with what had been perceived as God's will. As Cole and others have shown, one of many ecclesiastical responses involved the development of penance-inflected crusade rhetoric, attributing collapses in power to the Christians' immoral behavior.²⁸ This attempt to assimilate military downfall into a divine plan is especially evident in those sermons that took place after the Fall of Acre, the last Crusader State, in 1291, marking the end of Christian occupation of the mainland. Such discourse subsequently influenced the Jerusalem-related narratives of England, particularly in the ways that authors situated their audiences around crusade, described the city and its inhabitants, and came to promote certain forms of morality.

In addition to the crusade rhetoric that focuses on moral attitudes toward the holy city, other discourses in this vein illustrate ideals of militant behavior, as seen in the language of conquest and chivalry employed in the medieval crusade chronicles and romances. For example, this rhetoric includes chivalric tropes to describe devastation, such as images of cloven bodies and rivers of blood. Suspension of disbelief regarding bellicose feats, such as the knight who single-handedly slaughters one thousand men, are also typical features. Likewise, the term includes military appeals with spiritual undertones, such as exhortations urging Christians to liberate the land of their "heritage," to take back what is "rightfully" theirs.²⁹ As I hope to show, such rhetoric of crusade comes to describe acts of brutality against non-Christians in a way that, as Cole suggests, can "be thought of as both necessary and laudatory on grounds which were purely religious."³⁰ These concepts of liberation and religious purgation of Jerusalem were present from the early crusade accounts onwards and continued to have vitality in the fourteenth century. As I show in this study, this range of crusade rhetoric would later be deployed in the literature of the Hundred Years War

to articulate an English communal identity distinguishable from that of their French neighbors.

A study of English communal identity and the literatures of the Hundred Years War necessarily involves discussion of national identity. The term “nation” and its applicability to the Middle Ages is often debated; some scholars such as Perry Anderson and Anthony Giddens restrict use of the term to post-eighteenth-century culture, viewing the French Revolution as the benchmark of the rise of the modern state – the event on which some present definitions of “nation” depend. Other scholars have looked to pre-Enlightenment structures of communal affiliation that also support modern ideas of nation; in this way, evidence of nationhood is seen in those things a community shares in common, including its perception of its past, shared geographical territory, language, codified social organization, and bureaucratic structures such as taxes and laws. Likewise, some theorists who apply the terminology of nation to medieval England localize this application in discourses of Self and Other. Kathy Lavezzo provides a good example:

The bundle of attributes that the members of a nation are imagined to share are far from stable, but instead can range from the diachronic (territory) to the synchronic (history), from the biological (race) to the cultural (religion, language, etc.) and to the political (the state). Coterminous with the various fantasies of sameness, union and wholeness that nationalism entails are fantasies of difference, the construction of others whom the nation is “not” and whom the nation surmounts . . . [M]aking medieval “England” also depended on the appropriation of strangers both within (women, the poor, merchants) and without (Ireland, France, Italy) its boundaries, even as it excluded those same others.³¹

In addition to Lavezzo, fruitful studies by Marc Bloch, Susan Crane, John Gillingham, Geraldine Heng, Diane Speed, Lynn Staley, Thorlac Turville-Petre, and many others have demonstrated that a discourse of nation and nationhood existed in medieval England. Such work has provided an important basis upon which this book is written. However, the intention of my study is not to expand or affirm the terminology related to nationhood, but rather to discuss English communal identities shaped by religious and political writing about Jerusalem.

THE HOLY CITY AS GUARANTOR OF SACRAL
IDENTITY: THE JERUSALEM RELATION

The texts discussed here present physical and spiritual connections to Jerusalem as supremely valuable for a variety of reasons. This association,

which I call the Jerusalem relation, was made by means of armed or unarmed pilgrimage to the holy city, performed in actuality or in the mind. As I discuss, a Jerusalem relation could enhance the perception of one's political authority, for that attachment was considered by many late medieval Christian writers as both a sign and guarantor of divine and earthly power. Access to such entitlements was claimed by both English and French writers during the period of the Hundred Years War, as both sides sought to justify their internecine struggles over ownership of regions of France and its neighboring kingdoms. According to Lynn Staley, unlike the English monarchs of the late medieval period, French leaders Charles V and Charles VI, as the kings before them, could lay claim to a long-established piety and seemingly divine authority – Staley refers to this ideology as “sacral kingship.”³² Her work charts the development of French royal rule as it established a direct link between the king and deity through such programs as civic performance, the coronation *ordo*, making of law, the king's touch (granting the king miraculous healing virtues), liturgical formulae, and other strategies. She points out that, in England, the comparative absence of such sacralized power eventually led to perceptions of weakness in English monarchical command, and became a liability during the Hundred Years War, leaving the king comparatively powerless to hold his kingdom together and to sustain a long-term invasion of France.³³

Building on Staley's fine study of sacral kingship, I borrow and expand her term, applying it also to England's Christian inhabitants, especially its writers, who were negotiating what I refer to as sacral identity. English literature about pilgrimage and crusade was written by and for people who were defining themselves both as a religious community and as a nation in competition with older, more firmly established European kingdoms. These separate discourses of national identity and Christian identity were intertwined within the notion of sacrality: in particular, English late medieval writing about Jerusalem expresses concerns about national prestige based on England's relationship to the holy city. I hope to bring Jerusalem and the reputation of crusading prowess to the forefront by exploring these elements as tropes employed by English authors for sacralizing kingship and populace. This book therefore examines both the everyday interactions with Jerusalem (as seen in the pilgrim narratives), and the elevated claims to communal power, as articulated in contemporary romances, prose works, and theological writings. In the texts studied here, some late medieval English writers had already taken up the challenge of fashioning England's sacramental presence.

NEGOTIATING THE PAST: REMEMBERING
JERUSALEM, REFINING HISTORY

The fourteenth-century perception of England in the late medieval imaginary relied heavily on mythologies of England's past, including its existence as Britain; it also depended upon a crusading past, both fabricated and real. The regnal genealogy of Britain extended to the historicized fall of Troy, as British peoples aligned themselves to Aeneas through his descendants. As Geraldine Heng has illustrated, this Trojan ancestry led easily to later myths of nation visible in the legends of King Arthur, forming what she refers to as the "conditional matrix" for imagining England.³⁴ Crusader and pilgrim ideologies that relate English ties to Jerusalem contributed to this imagined presence. Some of the texts I explore in this study show the important exercise of "remembering" one's people as conquerors and inhabitants of that city. The second and third chapters of this book consider portrayals of Jerusalem in the romances, focusing especially on how these accounts creatively retell historical events in order to establish England's ties to the holy city. In the romance of *Richard, Coer de Lion (sic)* this pattern becomes especially apparent as events of the Third Crusade depict King Richard I of England as a superior Christian monarch to King Philip II of France, and present the English as crusaders *extraordinaires*. By portraying the thirteenth-century English soldiers as skilled warriors with abundant love for Jerusalem, the romancer makes invidious comparisons between the French and English that, as I argue here, would have had direct effect on English perceptions of the Hundred Years War. Certainly there were far more peoples involved in the war than those of France and England. This struggle involved conflicts on many fronts, including the involvement of Scotland, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Flanders, with their related counties, duchies, and kingdoms. For the most part, however, the texts studied here describe their adversaries as "French," and focus on that country's past associations with crusading. In *Richard, Coer de Lion*, for instance, English forces and their allies are set up against a monolithic French adversary in an effort to wrest control of Jerusalem from Islam, and, subsequently, from one another. These portrayals reflect the author's interactions with chronicle sources and other idealizations of England's political and spiritual position relative to its Continental neighbors.

Similarly fictive elements are found in another anonymous fourteenth-century romance, *The Siege of Jerusalem*. The poem is based on the Roman capture of the city in 70 C.E.; in this re-imagined narrative,

Roman forces invade and destroy the city of Jerusalem, not for the sake of Caesar, but for love for Christ. English Christian audiences are encouraged to identify themselves with this indomitable Roman force, again suggesting an image of English crusading superiority. However, as I will show, recent readings of the romance's Jewish adversaries as sympathetic figures lead to a new interpretation of the text not simply as a reflection and instrument of English nation building, but also as a devotional narrative, encouraging the moral reform of the soul. By renegotiating the histories of the first-century siege through the interpretative valences of exegesis, the poem comments on English morality. In particular, the poem's Jewish Others can also be seen exegetically, as sufferers of divine disfavor who are compelled to reform; in this relation to reform, the poem's first-century Jews and its late medieval Christian audiences become symbolically linked. Both writers of *Richard, Coer de Lion* and *The Siege of Jerusalem* deploy crusade rhetoric to engage in a moral dialogue with a Christian Other who poses a threat to the actual Jerusalem that the "crusaders" hope to attain; yet this Other also represents fallibility, and therefore is made to serve as a cautionary presence, warning that the romances' Christian audiences stand to lose the Celestial Jerusalem through immorality.

The fourth chapter of this book assesses how the prose work, *The Book of Sir John Mandeville*, unites these discourses of authority and morality. Here, the Mandeville-writer, in his *Prologue*, chastises his English audiences, blaming their misdeeds for the "division of the world," and other evils associated with the Papal Schism and Hundred Years War. The Mandeville-writer blames English shortcomings for the country's political ills – this straightforward indictment of English behavior does not seek to alter other historical records, or to glorify the English, but it does encourage his audience toward moral reform. Here, individuals are to pursue Jerusalem inwardly; these private exercises, collectively performed, subsequently are calculated to affect the spiritual status of a nation. The writer's systematic presentation of Jerusalem offers a meditative focal point which may have assisted in just such an operation. To this end, the narrative outlines the city, and even the world, as a full-scale mnemonic representation of Christian teaching. This depiction of place, along with that of the previous texts, suggests that crusade and pilgrimage had turned inward, moving from a communal exercise to an individual quest for personal morality. The *Travels* reflects a society whose biblical scholars and sermon writers prescribed spiritual pilgrimage and crusade as a solution for England's political conflicts with France and

the Avignon Papacy. Here, textual images which had once been designed to inspire actual pilgrimage and crusading take on a new role, encouraging these exercises to be performed not actually, but affectively.

VIRTUAL TRAVEL TO JERUSALEM IN THE
MIDDLE AGES

Even those who could not participate physically in later crusades, whether for lack of opportunity, bodily restriction, or other reasons, were encouraged to take up meditative journeys to Jerusalem. While hopes of obtaining the Terrestrial Jerusalem had diminished after 1291, English medieval literature saw an outpouring of texts urging audiences to “capture” and “besiege” the holy city in their minds by reforming themselves to a Christian moral ideal. What had begun as a recruitment strategy had become the language of devotion and religious expression. This devotional exercise, which I call the crusade of the soul, owed much to the established tradition of interior pilgrimage. This form of devotion, also referred to here as imagined or virtual pilgrimage (as opposed to external, actual, or place pilgrimage), was accepted as an exercise in many ways equal in spiritual merit to actual pilgrimage. A late medieval example of this is seen in Francis Petrarch who, in 1358, was invited by his friend Giovanni Mandelli to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Excusing himself from the journey, Petrarch instead composed his *Itinerarium ad Sepulchrum Domini* as an exquisitely detailed account of the journey, beginning in Milan and culminating in Jerusalem at the Tomb of the Holy Sepulchre.³⁵ According to Petrarch, who wrote his book over the space of three days, his text provided him a way to inhabit the Holy Land in spirit and also to accompany his friend without ever leaving his native Milan. In such travels Petrarch was not alone, for this type of interior experience was considered a viable means to increase Christian piety, and was popular in Europe from the eleventh through fourteenth centuries. In this meditative exercise, pilgrims followed the road to Jerusalem and journeyed by means of mental pictures created for them in travel literature, devotional texts, maps, and sermons.

Of the many ways medieval pilgrims could experience Jerusalem, the inner journey – popular within monasticism, anchoritic practice, and mysticism – was also practiced by the laity as a facet of meditative devotion. This form of travel was rooted in the traditions of the Desert Fathers whose rejection of the world was said to open up vast horizons on which to meditate. Such sentiment became formalized much later in

monastic and anchoritic practices of the twelfth century, and was promoted by the likes of Anselm of Canterbury, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Geoffrey of Vendôme.³⁶ This mystical form of travel was taken up in late medieval England by Margery Kempe, Julian of Norwich, Richard Rolle, Walter Hilton, and others. Rolle, for example, encourages meditation on Christ's life for those who wish to increase their faith, instructing them to imagine the places of biblical narrative.³⁷ Passion narratives inspired related exercises that focused on the humanity of Christ through tales of his life and suffering; for instance, Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* had an extensive readership among English, late medieval audiences.³⁸

As is discussed here, some exercises of virtual pilgrimage were, by the fourteenth century, deeply affected by militant images that encouraged a type of inner crusade. The final chapter of this study assesses the works of two authors whose devotionally based texts deployed crusade rhetoric in order to portray the authors' visions of morality, in which the goal is defined by individual and communal peace. These examples of crusade rhetoric and the Jerusalem relation are utilized in the fourteenth-century narrative, *The Pilgrimage of the Lyfe of the Manhode*, a Middle English translation of Guillaume de Deguileville's poem, *Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*. Along with Guillaume's work, I examine the intersections of religious piety and war between the English and French expressed in Philippe de Mézières' *Songe du Vieil Pèlerin* and *Epistre au Roi Richard*. Each author represents Jerusalem as the reward for the attainment of peace, whether it be in the form of a balance between an individual's inner vices and virtues, or concord of a larger scale, between the nations of England and France. Guillaume's work illustrates the crusading morality passed down by Bernard of Clairvaux; in the *Pèlerinage*, the protagonist must engage in military combat for the possession of his own soul. Armed by the Grace of God, he wields his spiritual weaponry against himself in an effort to overcome rebellious bodily desires and win peace from within. Harmony of a different nature is promoted in Philippe's work as the dream of "international" peace among Christian nations. This cooperation is described as pleasing to God, for it allows crusading against religious Others, and the possible attainment of Jerusalem. While this text holds out the actual Jerusalem as a reward, it employs a crusading discourse that promises that only the divinely favored and pure of heart would win the city. In this case, Philippe advocates for peace at home before seeking victory abroad; in implementing this domestic, communal harmony, England and France,

figuratively, become Promised Lands in their own right. In this way, the works of pilgrimage and crusade, as well as the image of Jerusalem itself, were not only spiritualized but also harnessed in the service of nation building.

In exploring medieval uses of Jerusalem to define English religious and political identities, I borrow the lens of *communitas* articulated by Edith and Victor Turner. The Turners have employed this term to describe the goal of pilgrimage as a socially leveling experience shared by all participants.³⁹ While the application of this notion of *communitas* to describe the aims of all forms of pilgrimage, from the early medieval to the present day, has been rightly questioned, the term itself does offer some utility in discussing texts of medieval itinerant devotion. The usage of the term, *communitas*, is qualified in this study: on the one hand I limit its use to define interactions with Jerusalem; on the other, I expand its application to highlight the phenomenon of perceived shared social experiences across time. This particular application of the term, *communitas*, usefully describes the social unity portrayed in these texts – here, this is a constructed image of unity, shared by an imagined community of medieval Christians, localized around the depiction of Jerusalem.

PAST SCHOLARLY APPROACHES: THE CONTEXT

Some components discussed in this study have already received scholarly assessment. For instance, interior pilgrimage has been treated in academic research and several scholars have examined the complex material and mental aspects of medieval travel.⁴⁰ Other scholars have made significant contributions to the field of medieval, place pilgrimage since Jonathan Sumption assembled one of the foremost surveys on the subject in 1975.⁴¹ In addition, much has been written about English participation in the medieval crusades, although until the late thirteenth century such military involvement was slight in comparison with England's Continental neighbors.⁴² Relatively little, however, has been done to consider crusade and pilgrimage literature together as textual phenomena, or to address these English works in light of the political atmosphere of the Hundred Years War and the Papal Schism.⁴³ Still less has been written about how, in relating desire for the holy city, portrayals of Jerusalem articulated expressions of incipient national identity in late medieval England. As I hope to show, English writings about travel to the holy city were part of a much larger project of constructing England in the image of Jerusalem

and depicting its English citizens as the new Israelites. Through the use of crusade rhetoric and the Jerusalem relation, English writers fashioned a communal identity based on their perceptions of the Holy Land's ideal inhabitants: deserving heirs of sacred space, blessed by God, and destined to prevail against the religious and territorial upheavals of the fourteenth century.

The primary sources considered in this study constitute a selective group of texts drawn from medieval romance, pilgrim narrative, crusade chronicle, devotional poetry, and correspondence. This selection offers a cross-section of disciplines illustrating the portrayals of a militant zeal for Jerusalem across a broad spectrum of genres and audiences. While such a small sampling cannot hope to cover exhaustively the full range of crusade and pilgrimage ideology, it does, however, seek to show the possible interactions among such works in order to create images of the Jerusalems of the English medieval imaginary. This study thereby hopes not to be the last word, but rather to offer a multi-disciplinary approach to the two closely related exercises of pilgrimage and crusade; moreover, it seeks to show that the contest for Jerusalem was every bit as concerned with politics at home, even when the prize existed in such far-flung reaches as *outremer* and the afterlife.

*Pilgrimage to Jerusalem: three accounts
by English authors*

When one thinks of those medieval English pilgrims whose works have been edited for scholarly study, Margery Kempe is perhaps the first name that comes to mind.¹ Indeed, with her copious weeping on her pilgrimage journeys, and wailing at Christ's crucifixion site, she stands out, as she herself admits, from other pilgrims to Jerusalem. This chapter, however, does not deal with the devotional account of Margery Kempe. While Kempe produced a narrative of her travels as mediated through "the eyes of her soul," the works studied in this chapter offer a different focus, emanating from three different English pilgrims who are roughly contemporary with Kempe, but who present a view of pilgrimage shaped by their concern for the practicalities of physical travel. Although only a few hundred Jerusalem pilgrim accounts from Europe and England survive, Henry Savage has shown that "many thousands" of pilgrims visited Jerusalem annually.² According to G. Owst, tales of pilgrim experience were usually spread orally, often in sermons; thus the relatively small number of extant texts does not represent the full extent to which pilgrimage pervaded English medieval society.³ Those that do survive, however, offer an outline of what the experience of English pilgrimage involved.

While this chapter seeks to describe the practicalities of the pilgrim journey, it also explores the significance of Jerusalem to the English traveler, itinerary reader, and writer. Considering the implications of pilgrimage in general, Edith and Victor Turner's defining study on pilgrimage in Christian culture has invited comment on the anthropological function of itinerant devotion as practiced by people of many faiths and nationalities over time.⁴ More recently, Simon Coleman and John Eade have summarized the Turners' notion of pilgrimage as a "liminoid phenomenon, which is productive of social encounters without

hierarchical constraints.”⁵ Critique of this concept revolves around the Turners’ assertions that social leveling and shared experience are the goals of pilgrimage – phenomena they summarize through the term *communitas*. Responding scholars have challenged and redefined pilgrimage not as an institution that builds *communitas*, necessarily, but that which exhibits a range of variegated, individual experiences in place of an overall development of communal solidarity. Citing medieval instantiations of pilgrimage, John Howe, Lutz Kaelber, Genoveffa Palumbo, and Luigi Tomasi, among many others, view pilgrimage as an individualized experience.⁶

My investigation of English medieval pilgrim texts also indicates that pilgrimage to Jerusalem was variegated to a large extent, as elements such as unpredictable events and personal involvements affected private interactions with various sites. Moreover, pilgrims usually traveled in groups, often assembled from people of their own village or country. The English were not unique in this practice, for the bulk of extant European itineraries tell us that travelers segregated themselves according to country at all stages of the journey: along the way to Italy, aboard ship, and in the Holy Land. In Jerusalem, travelers often stayed in hostels designed to accommodate specific nationalities and, by the late medieval period, those from more “prestigious” localities were sometimes given the best positions on walking tours of the city, placing, for example, the French traveler first, and the English last. This pattern of activity implies anything but the social leveling that the Turners’ idea of *communitas* suggests. The English pilgrim’s experience in Jerusalem therefore could differ greatly from that of a continental European, or from that of visitors of different social stature, even if they hailed from his or her own English village.

At the same time, I submit that pilgrim writers strove for a degree of similarity with other Christians in their descriptions of Jerusalem, and that they demonstrate an interest in inspiring religious solidarity around the symbol of Jerusalem among their English and continental European audiences. This approach acknowledges the ways that many authors of pilgrim itineraries sought to create images of Jerusalem resembling those found in other pilgrims’ accounts, regardless of the writer’s place in the queue or hostel address. In the works discussed in this chapter, certain portions of the tour – particularly those that depict the Holy Land and its inhabitants – demonstrate high levels of uniformity. I hope to show that this homogeneity enabled religious devotion toward Jerusalem, and developed *communitas* among English Christian pilgrims and their

predecessors. The memorializing efforts surrounding Jerusalem are especially evident when comparing a fourteenth-century English pilgrim text to one produced in the same country in the early sixteenth century. Describing the journey en route to the holy city, the later text shows the marks of growing tourist interest and offers many new spectacles outside of the Middle East; when Jerusalem is discussed, however, older modes of description nearly identical to those found in the fourteenth-century example are employed. A discourse of Otherness is also visible in the itineraries across time, and works to solidify *communitas* among Christians from different eras and countries by pitting them as one, figuratively, against medieval members of Islam. Muslims are thus cast in a multiplicity of ways: as exegetical representatives of first-century Jews; as “Saracens” of two or more centuries past, emblematic of Muslim soldiers involved in the early crusades; and as contemporary religious adversaries and administrators who control Jerusalem. Such interpretations suggest that, for pilgrim writers at least, standard interpretations of the holy city *and* its inhabitants, past and present, were essential to create a lasting impression of Jerusalem in the medieval imaginary.

English pilgrim accounts exist in many loosely classified *genera*, including journals, itineraries, compilations, and hybrids of these types.⁷ Among the three texts studied in this chapter, the anonymous *Itinerarium cuiusdam Anglici, 1344–45* was written by an English author whose Latin language choice suggests a clerical authorship, possibly for other clergy members.⁸ Also under consideration are William Wey’s mid-fifteenth-century itineraries, written in Latin and occasionally in Middle English. In Wey’s writing, specific sections of the text recorded in Latin appear to be borrowed directly from another source and are interspersed with Wey’s own English prose. Moreover, he tends to employ Latin passages when discussing information related to the sacred sites, using Middle English for advice concerning travel. I will contrast these narratives with the early sixteenth-century *Diarie of Englysshe Travell*, written in English by Sir Richard Torkington.⁹ The *Diarie*’s full composition in English shows both the late date of the piece, in that English had become an acceptable medium for transmitting sacred material, and was likewise accessible to a wide range of audiences.

Other notable English pilgrim itineraries originate from such authors as Sir Richard Gylforde’s chaplain, along with Thomas Brygg, in addition to the anonymous compilers of the *Informacyon for Pylgrymes*, the writers of *The Book of Sir John Mandeville*, and the anonymous authors of lesser-known pieces.¹⁰ These works, along with the accounts by

Anonymous, Wey, and Torkington, show a complex pattern of borrowing among one other and from possible intermediary sources. I have selected these three texts because they purport to be written by the pilgrim himself, not his chaplain (as is the case in Guyllforde's pilgrimage), or another voice; they provide more practical information relative to other English pilgrim tales, demonstrate English concerns, and represent diverse time periods in pilgrim writing.¹¹ Here, I do not suggest that pilgrim narratives followed any linear kind of development, but rather I hope to show that, regarding Jerusalem's portrayal, selective standardization can be seen in the English accounts across time, thereby showing a unified effort by English pilgrim writers in preserving the city's sites in writing. Once outside the Holy Land, each author adds small points of innovation which can be traced to fashionable practices at the time; in some instances, these trends, such as the passion for Venice, altered the itinerary genre. In other cases, continued desire for crusading shows through the accounts. Through exploring the confluence of and digressions from standard pilgrim forms, I suggest that the Turners' notion of *communitas* is applicable in specific ways to some portrayals of the English medieval pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In other ways which will later be discussed, however, the holy city also forms a locus of dissent and disintegration of *communitas*, as western Christian communities vied for control of this city as a most precious and potent relic.

WHO WERE THE WRITERS?

Significant to this study's interest in historical devotional practices is the probability that the authors studied here shared ecclesiastical backgrounds: Wey and Torkington are most certainly priests, and it is likely that the Anonymous held a clerical office, as well. Little is known about the anonymous writer of the *Itinerarium cuiusdam Anglici, 1344-45*, save what he reveals in his narrative. Although he begins his trip from the Papal town of Avignon and knows Latin, several Bible verses, and liturgical prayers, he never explicitly states whether or not he is a priest; he travels in the company of two companions, referring to his group as "we three English people."¹² They leave from Gaul, he writes, "absolved and licensed," on October 13, 1345.¹³ With these certifications, the group travels in compliance with pilgrim custom and canon law which demanded that pilgrims receive pardon and absolution for sins before departure, and, in some cases, permission or license to depart.¹⁴ Wey, in contrast to the Anonymous, offers more information about himself: he calls himself a

pilgrim, priest, *baccularius* of sacred theology, and Fellow of Eton College.¹⁵ Most likely, he was a Devonshire native who occupied a post as a Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford prior to his employment at Eton.¹⁶ Like the Anonymous, Wey receives official permission to travel on pilgrimage.¹⁷ On his first trip in 1458, he says that he is one of 197 pilgrims on two galleys bound for the Holy Land. Like Wey, Torkington describes himself as a priest, and he writes that he was presented in 1511 to the rectory of Mulburton, Norfolk.¹⁸ Though little is known about this author, Torkington's 1517 pilgrimage account is made all the more interesting in light of its proximity to the interdict on pilgrimage issued by Henry VIII shortly after Torkington's return.¹⁹

TEXTUAL COMMUNITY IN ENGLISH PILGRIM
ACCOUNTS: SHARING THE SOURCES

Because of the practice of sharing sources, late medieval English pilgrim writings were often part of a larger, international textual community. As Josephine Brefeld and Nicole Chareyron have shown, those accounts composed by writers of late medieval England have much in common in style and content with their European counterparts.²⁰ Brefeld's research on pilgrimage itineraries suggests the importance of uniformity in the medieval creation of the holy city's textual existence. Through the similarities she has noted among the narratives of Jerusalem pilgrimage dated post-1300 C.E., Brefeld has demonstrated that there may have been an original text, now lost, from which pilgrims faithfully copied their work.²¹ This text would have been made available in many languages by the Franciscan friars, for an anonymous Franciscan text of 1427 tells of the frequency with which the brothers were asked to provide written material for pilgrims.²² The pilgrim accounts from different time periods, ranging from 1336 to 1546, and across nationalities and languages show striking likenesses: the holy places are described in a set order, many contain the same unusual turns of phrase, there are identical prayers written out verbatim, and repeated references to a "book (or books) of pilgrimage" abound.²³ As well as showing exact correlations between texts written by pilgrims in different decades and several different languages, some diarists acknowledge a common intermediary.²⁴ Whether using a Franciscan master text or other sources, it is evident that English and continental European pilgrim writers often borrowed from one another. Textual sharing among itineraries appears to have been a flexible affair, not bound to national biases. For instance, Guylforde's *The Pylgrimage to the Holy*

Land, A. D. 1506 may have been derived in part from Philippe de Voisin's *Voyage à Jérusalem de Philippe de Voisins seigneur de Montaut (1490)*.²⁵

While English pilgrim writers did access Continental sources, they also drew from an active textual community of their own. Idiosyncratic similarities which Wey and Torkington share suggest that Torkington was either familiar with Wey's account, or that Torkington (or Torkington and Wey both) had borrowed from a similar source. One possible intermediary, the *Informacyon for pylgrymes unto the Holy Londe*, composed anonymously by an English writer in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, contains some of the same material, verbatim, as that by Wey, Torkington, Sir John Mandeville, and Sir Richard Guylforde's chaplain.²⁶ The Guylforde chaplain, thought to have borrowed extensively from the *Informacyon* and the earlier mentioned work of Philippe de Voisin, composes in similar manner to the *Informacyon*-writer by book-ending his received text with personal detail. He records, for instance, that they set sail from Rye, Sussex and land in Kyryell, Normandy, adding side trips to St. Denis and Paris to his own account before filling in with standardized information about Venice, Corfu, and other places.²⁷ Likewise, most of his landing at Jaffa reads like a copy of the *Informacyon*, with the exception of his note that his master was sick, and that his party had to hire a camel to carry him to Jerusalem.²⁸ However, these slight differences between the account in the *Informacyon* and that offered by Guylforde's chaplain decline during the description of Jerusalem.²⁹

Another shared work, *The Book of Sir John Mandeville*, which I discuss in ch. 4, currently receives scholarly attention as a fabrication created by an author (or authors) who did not travel, rendering it the work of an "armchair pilgrim"; nevertheless, it, too, was occasionally treated as a source text, suitable to draw from and to "top up" one's own pilgrimage account. M. C. Seymour outlines the intricate patterns of textual borrowing seen in Mandeville's *Book*, extracts of which were "appended to . . . Torkington's account of his travel to the Holy Land in 1517, virtually transcribed verbatim from the *Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guildeforde* (Pynson, 1495), are taken from an edition of Wynkyn De Worde (1499, 1503, c. 1510)."³⁰ While there is, as yet, too little manuscript evidence to speculate further on the interrelation of these writings, the verbatim passages that these works share in common with other English itineraries show that accounts of the Holy Land were widely distributed among an interactive textual community. Alongside the journey itself, pilgrim writing – with its incorporation of material or quotations from

other narratives, including biblical verses – offers a venue for reanimating earlier Christian experience, as another form of ritual performance. To further exemplify the careful way in which one English writer preserved his vision of the Holy Land for his contemporaries and for posterity, I turn now to a fuller examination of Wey’s description.

WEY’S METHODOLOGY: CREATING A
USER-FRIENDLY GUIDE

Of extant English pilgrim writing, Wey’s appears the most user-friendly for the pilgrim requiring guidance for both preparing for the journey and identifying places of interest in the Holy Land. The structure of Wey’s account suggests that he was working with at least two texts: a religious source from which he borrowed his devotional descriptions and, possibly, his own notes of the physical involvements of his pilgrimage. For example, Wey provides, in English, an outline of his thirteen-day visit to the Holy Land including the names of specific cities and an inventory of fourteen important sites.³¹ In Latin, he next offers an itemized description of “miraculous” places in Jaffa, followed by a catalogue of holy places, referred to as “stations,” in Jerusalem. Each station is assigned a number; for instance, number two is the “strata per quam Christus transivit ad suam passionem”; twenty is the “templum Salomonis.” He records twenty-two stations for Jerusalem, and provides lists, whose items are also called “stations,” as subsets of his account of the major sites. Each station tells a short-hand story of the location’s value, often showing that a locus of devotion has a multi-layered significance, from Old Testament events, to more recent martyrdoms, to an event or character related to the life of Christ. This multi-layered chronology is seen regarding the Valley of Siloam, when Wey describes caves where twelfth-century Christians prayed, graves of Old Testament figures, and a place where Christ healed a blind man. In the Valley of Siloam, he offers six stations where visitors may earn forgiveness. Mount Sion has twenty-four stations, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre has thirteen, and so on.³² For Wey, evidence of biblical history is thick on the ground, and he seems interested, more so than most pilgrims who make an account of the Holy Land, to present a complete and highly organized description of it.³³

Wey’s presentation of holy places suggests a didactic purpose in his writing, to help the reader memorize significant places in the Holy Land, and to thereby support his audience’s common experience of its sites. Indeed, the land itself is compartmentalized into a real-life mnemonic

image, akin to Augustine's "palaces," where, in medieval memory practice, one organized knowledge into certain rooms for easier recall.³⁴ Wey's depiction of the Middle East serves such a purpose, for the instructive nature of his writing is reinforced with Jerusalem-specific doctrine such as the ten reasons to visit the Holy Land. Wey encourages such "visits" since they honor God, because Christ wills it, St. Jerome encouraged it, indulgences are available, Pope Leo supported it, one may live there, and one can learn the names of the holy places; he adds that there is forgiveness of sins to be had, lessons to learn, and, finally, one may enjoy close proximity to the relics.³⁵ Such formulaic lists give the work a catechetical tone intended to school the audience to interpret the Jerusalem pilgrimage as a mnemonic exercise and devotional tool. In Wey's own words, the value of the "things to be learned" in the Holy Land is important. His outlines function as shorter versions of his work, perhaps so that pilgrims could access information in their guide more quickly than in the extensive prose narrative. The fact that Wey records his indices in the vernacular also supports this view. The margins of the work also contain shorthand notation of the sites for easy location within the guide. Moreover, Wey embellishes his account with information on the amount of indulgence available from certain sites. For this, too, he develops a shorthand; after discussing the site or event, such as arrival at Jaffa, Wey places a cross-mark in the text to show which locations offer indulgences, adding: "It should be noted that wherever a cross is placed there is plenary indulgence from pain and guilt; where there is not a cross, there are seven years and seven Lents."³⁶ In Wey's view, the main reason for going on pilgrimage is to earn forgiveness, and he designs his itinerary to help the pilgrim achieve this goal.³⁷ This deliberate organization and clear marking of indulgences speaks to the intended use of Wey's account as an aid for other Christian pilgrims also seeking remission of sins in the Holy Land, or traveling virtually, at home.

WRITING TRAVEL: WHAT TO EXPECT
ON PILGRIMAGE

Along with creating a user-friendly layout, Wey seems deeply interested in providing a kind of "how-to" book for pilgrimage. For instance, his first account, begun in 1458, opens with an extensive three-page discussion of the exchange rates available in various cities in France, Germany, Italy, and Syria: "At [Cologne] ye schal haue [Rhennish] gyldernes and [Cologne] penys; ye schal haue for a gyldren xxiiii [Cologne] penys; for a

[Cologne] peny xii hallardys, other myrkenys, al ys one, and they wyl serve to Menske.”³⁸ Wey also warns about the poor currency rate available for English gold – if, indeed, exchange of it is accepted at all – and he advises the pilgrim not to bring any English money after leaving the city of Bruges. Since English gold is difficult to trade outside of the French regions, Wey suggests carrying a quantity of Venetian coin instead, for the exchange rate is good: “Doketys, grotys, grosettis, and soldys of Venyse, wyl go wel in Surrey (Syria); that us to say, in the holy londe, and none other, wythoute grete losse.”³⁹ Through his advice, Wey shows Venice’s strong financial position as its currency is accepted at a stable and fair price across the Mediterranean. This financial fluidity speaks to the wide trading connections which that city held in Europe, northern Africa, and western Asia. Besides financial information, Wey offers advice meant to improve the pilgrim’s quality of life while traveling to the Holy Land. For instance, he advises pilgrims that if they sail by galley from Venice, they should choose a berth closest to the upper deck since it is “smolderyng hote and stynkyng” below deck.⁴⁰ He observes that travelers should expect to spend forty ducats for a “goyd honeste plase” aboard ship for the journey to Jaffa and back. Wey also advises pilgrims that when they sign a contract with a ship patron that they ensure he is “bound” to keep his promises to them in the presence of the Duke and other lords of Venice.⁴¹

Unlike the work of the Anonymous or Torkington, Wey’s account is specifically designed for day-to-day use, and represents the only extant record of its kind concerning so many intricacies of the pilgrim business. Wey’s writing is evidence that the Venetian pilgrim industry continued to thrive into the fifteenth century. Pilgrim transport to the Holy Land had been arranged by the Venetians as early as 1229 and was closely regulated; Venice also employed special civil servants to represent the pilgrims’ interests, serving as a type of quality control in order to secure a Venetian share in the pilgrim industry.⁴² This transport business was lucrative, and Venetians often sent one cargo of pilgrims eastward, with the boat returning to Italy full of merchandise from Asia. Although the trip to the port of Jaffa was regulated by Venetian officials, actual travel within the Holy Land was, by the fourteenth century, the business of Muslim administrators and Franciscan guides. While the sea voyage was long – the Mediterranean journey usually lasted from six to eight weeks – the pilgrim’s stay in Jerusalem was comparatively short, with the usual stay lasting just over ten days.⁴³ Aside from the physical inconvenience of a long journey, travel to the Holy Land was an expensive enterprise: a pilgrimage

befitting one's station might cost a year's income.⁴⁴ Wey's content may have helped pilgrims maintain a budget: for example, he reports where to get bargain prices for beds and poultry in Venice.⁴⁵

Wey also offers insight into the minutiae of daily life aboard ship, further differentiating his text from other contemporary accounts. He goes on to recommend that pilgrims purchase three barrels each – one for water and two for wine – and that they re-fill them at every port. He also advises keeping these containers locked in a chest to prevent theft: “for yf the galyemen, other pylgremys, may come ther, to meny wyl take and drynke therof, and stele yowre watyr, whyche ye wold nat mysse oft tyme for yowre wyne.”⁴⁶ Like water and wine, Wey says that provisions like bread, cheese, and spices should be kept under lock and key. He adds that, although the patron is bound to feed them daily, pilgrims should supply their own food in case the patron becomes lax in his duties. Wey offers a complete list of provisions, suggesting that passengers bring bread, cheese, and wine, along with bacon, fruit, eggs, confections, “comfortatives,” laxatives, restoratives, ginger, rice, figs, raisins – “whyche schal do yow gret ese by the way” – pepper, saffron, cloves, and mace.⁴⁷ Pilgrims should also purchase a cage of six hens along with a bushel of meal for them to eat. Wey adds that travelers should bring a cauldron and a frying pan, dishes, platters, wooden saucers, and glass cups. Through Wey, one learns that the pilgrim diet was varied and included more fresh foods than one might expect. He advises his audience about the goods available for purchase at port havens, cautioning them to be wary of certain fruits because of their debilitating effects on the digestive system. Wey also provides a glimpse into other intimate details of life aboard ship, advising travelers to bring a chamber pot for it is not always possible to venture above deck. Wey's is the only extant English account to take up close detail about provisioning, banking, and arranging passage.

Torkington also provides much personal, advisory, and certainly non-standardized detail before his record touches upon the Holy Land. His reflections show the administrative procedures that any pilgrim could expect. However, Torkington does not write as if to offer direct advice to travelers in the same fashion that Wey does. While Wey offers exchange tables, helpful vocabulary lists, suggestions for provisions, and where to buy them, Torkington provides other information: he discusses the duration of each visit, delays aboard ship, and administrative minutiae regulating entry into Jerusalem. He reports where his group sleeps every night, and what they eat. Readers learn, for instance, that food at Mount Sion is sometimes provided by local vendors, and at other times by the

monastery.⁴⁸ Mixed with personal detail, further advice can be gleaned indirectly from Torkington's account; for example, in Pavia he finds a place to sell his horse, saddle and bridle, and board a barge on the Po River. Likewise, he pays fastidious attention to dates and times to a greater degree than either the Anonymous or Wey. For example, he writes that he began his pilgrimage on March 20, 1517, the seventh year of Henry VIII's reign, at 8 a.m., sailing from Rye, Sussex, for Dieppe, Normandy, where he arrived at 10 p.m. that evening.⁴⁹ As careful as Torkington is about recording logistics, he is less so about describing the shrines. He offers only vague descriptions of the holy places, saying, for instance, that at St. Jean de Maurienne, "I sey many Reliquis," including the finger of St. John the Baptist. Compared to the Anonymous, Torkington is similarly brief about the cities he visits, for, aside from Venice, he mentions little about local politics and industry. Nevertheless, he does add personal touches occasionally, mentioning that after traveling from Suza to Diner on horseback, he and his horse rest after traveling over the mountains.⁵⁰ Likewise, as he describes the region in Zante, "Ther is the grettest wynys and strongest that ever I drank in my lyff," an observation all too familiar to the Anonymous.⁵¹

In comparison to Torkington, and, to a lesser degree, Wey, the Anonymous visits more shrines and cities while en route to the Holy Land, and he makes substantially detailed notes about minor shrines not directly associated with Venice, Rome, or Jerusalem. Thus his account would have served those pilgrims who traveled off the beaten path while en route to the Middle East. Also unique to the Anonymous is his substantial interest in the political climate of the places where he travels. He reports, for instance, that northern Italy is always involved in civil war; in spite of such turmoil, he hastens to add that "the land is fertile, and there is an abundance of delicious red wine."⁵² Another difference in his pilgrimage is that he does not sail to the Holy Land from Venice: he departs from Otranto instead. Coincidentally, he does not supply the opulent description of Venice which is so important to Wey and Torkington. After Otranto, the Anonymous lands in the same island ports later mentioned by Wey and Torkington, such as Corfu, Rhodes, and Cyprus. Like the *Diarie*, the *Itinerarium* would have been useful as a pilgrim's meteorological and oceanographical almanac because it provides a close record of delays from inclement weather. Taking these many details into consideration, Wey, Torkington, and the Anonymous all show varying degrees of interest in matters only tangentially related to the spiritual aspects of pilgrimage. In scholarly terms, their experiences before

reaching Jerusalem appear individualized and variegated from one another. Like many of their continental European contemporaries, they demonstrate an increasing attention to matters unrelated to biblically sacred sites when compared with pilgrim accounts ante-dating the fourteenth century.⁵³

WRITING JERUSALEM: MEMORIALIZING THE
HEART OF THE PILGRIMAGE

Medieval pilgrims often located their descriptions of the holy city as the focal point of their texts. In all three of the narratives discussed in this chapter, as well as in most other examples of medieval pilgrim writing in Europe, description of Jerusalem and its environs is more thickly detailed than other locales.⁵⁴ Along with preferential treatment, the standardization of Jerusalem-centered information speaks to the late medieval portrayal of the city as a relic so holy that even its verbal descriptions are preserved almost unchanged. As a result of this standardization after the early crusades, it appears that the act of writing about the city seems to have carried devotional significance. The preceding paragraphs have shown that material outside the center of the pilgrimage is in flux. Textual Jerusalem, however, reaches a point of relative stasis suggesting a ritual performance in writing about the Holy Land. Ritual interaction with Jerusalem was already established in the fourth century when Egeria visited it; she sought specific sites, read Bible verses connected to them, and sang set hymns, all under the direction of her guides. The three texts studied here show that versions of this process were still in practice. For example, when Torkington describes his first glimpse of the holy city from aboard ship, he reports that the mariners begin to sing the Litany, then the pilgrims sing *Te Deum Laudamus*, as others before him, including Egeria, had done.⁵⁵ As if to capture the magnitude of the occasion and to authenticate his visit, he also records the exact date and time: Saturday, July 11 at 4 p.m. The tour itself is intricately organized: the next day the ship anchors at Jaffa and the pilgrims remain aboard while a messenger is sent to the Warden of Mount Sion to come and conduct the party, "As the custome ys."⁵⁶ After they wait aboard ship for two days, the "Father Warden of Bethlehem" escorts the pilgrims ashore. There, they pay a toll to Muslim custodians, and a record-keeper notes their names. At Jaffa, Torkington announces: "begynnyth the holy londe, and to every pylgryme at the ffyrst foote that he set on the londe there ys grauntyd plenary remission, *De Pena et a Culpa*."⁵⁷

The Anonymous, entering the Holy Land in similar fashion, offers a view into pilgrim emotions experienced when the travelers finally reach the holy city. He reports that as his group clamber across rocky ground toward Jerusalem, they suddenly catch sight of the city and are amazed; the Anonymous describes the scene with biblical metaphors as if to capture his feelings upon seeing the city for the first time: “the city Jerusalem, located among the mountains, appeared to us like the morning star rising over a mountain.”⁵⁸ He then addresses the holiness of this place, describing it as the location where Abraham sought to sacrifice his son, Isaac. He also locates the city spatially, describing how it is surrounded by valleys and enclosed by mountains. As a large city, it is two miles across and surrounded by high walls. The Mount of Olives stands to the east, near the Temple of Solomon. Like the other two accounts, the narrative pace slows down as the pilgrims enter Jerusalem, so that every detail may be noted. The Anonymous seems to have his own private tour, as he and his two English companions meet up with Friar Nicholas, guardian of the Hospital of Jerusalem, and the four set out to visit the Holy Sepulchre where they pay admission and enter.⁵⁹ They leave the Church of the Holy Sepulchre shortly, returning that evening with Nicholas, “around the hour of vespers.” Once there, they kneel and pray before the doors of the church because “there Christ set his cross on the way to his death.”⁶⁰

Torkington also communicates his enthusiasm at being in the Holy Land, though in slightly different ways. His activities there shed further light on early sixteenth-century pilgrim activity, barely pre-dating the Ottoman invasion. Like the Anonymous, Torkington usually describes the scriptural significance of sites he sees along the way to Jerusalem; for example, Jaffa is the place where Peter fished, raised Tabitha from the dead, and was asked by Christ to join him. With the exception of his overnight lodging establishment, Torkington’s route from Jaffa to Jerusalem mirrors that in other pilgrim texts; he notes that from the port city the pilgrims ride to Ramla on mules and stay overnight at a hospice built by Duke Philip of Burgundy. The next day, Saturday, July 18, the pilgrims arrive at Jerusalem at 6 or 7 p.m. and are received into the Hospital of St. James on Mount Sion. The following days are packed with activity much like that recorded by the Anonymous and Wey. For instance, after spending a day in Jerusalem, Torkington and his group visit Bethlehem and, later, attend mass on Mount Sion. At supper that night, the warden of Mount Sion preaches and exhorts the pilgrims to confession and repentance, “And so to visite the seyde holy placis in

clennes of lyff.”⁶¹ On the following day, they visit the Vale of Josaphat. Following the same order as most contemporary pilgrim accounts, Torkington next visits the Mount of Olives. Here, he offers a list of significant stones: a stone where Christ prayed, the stone where Judas betrayed Christ with a kiss, and a stone in a church from which Christ ascended into heaven.⁶² Like the Anonymous, Torkington is subsequently taken to the *Probatica Piscina* (also known as the Pool of Bethesda), the house of Herod, the house of Veronica, and the gates of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Like Wey, Torkington refers to these sites as “stacions,” suggesting that he, too, is aware of their devotional significance in the exercise of remembering the Passion. Even more stones offer him the chance to superimpose biblical history on the sites: on Mount Sion they see the rock which the angel removed from Christ’s tomb, stones where Mary died and was assumed into heaven, where John the Evangelist said mass, where Matthew was chosen to join the Apostles, where Mary prayed, where Christ used to sit and preach, and where Mary sat and listened to him, and so on. The tour culminates in an area where Christ was said to have administered the Last Supper and where the Holy Spirit descended upon the disciples, paralleling the pilgrim’s physical movement through the landscape of the life of Christ, the Passion, and resurrection, concluding with Pentecost.⁶³

Of these sites, the most important pilgrim destination in the Holy Land was the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and it is here that most pilgrim writers strive for the highest degree of uniformity. Such efforts may have been out of concern to transmit sacred memory in stable form, perhaps as a gesture of respect or awe of that place, with its buildings, and contents representing embodied scripture. Pilgrim texts often refer to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as a metonym for the entirety of the Holy Land; for example, the Anonymous opens his account of the Jerusalem pilgrimage with the phrase, “I set out toward the Holy Sepulchre” [sum profectus ad sanctum Sepulchrum].⁶⁴ Structurally, most pilgrim narratives situate the visit to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre first among other stations in Jerusalem. Concurrently, they slow the pace of the text with detailed description of the church in order to account for the dozens of reverential sites available there. Ritual is also attentively described. When Torkington records the details of the long-anticipated overnight stay in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, he writes that the pilgrims along with friars from the Mount Sion monastery are admitted to the church at 6 p.m. by Muslim officials. There, they are received by two friars who are said to attend the Holy Sepulchre at all times.

Torkington and the other pilgrims spend two days and nights in the church, and are locked in together by Muslim guards. To begin their visit, they participate in a procession in the Chapel of the Virgin and worship together singing “Antemes, ympnys versiculis, and collects approperyd on to the seyd holy place ryght Solennly and Devowtly.”⁶⁵ From here they follow the friars on a tour of the church, carrying lit wax candles.

For Torkington, as for Wey and the Anonymous, the tour of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre proceeds in a conventional manner: they are shown the pillar where Christ was scourged, a stone where Christ appeared to Mary after his resurrection, the place where Helena found the True Cross, and the Mount of Calvary. From Calvary, they “made [their] stacion” at the Holy Sepulchre and finally return to the Lady Chapel for refreshments of meat and drink. For as standardized as it is in its presentation of the sites, Torkington’s account is also useful for offering insight into what English pilgrims did during their overnight stay in the church, telling where and when they slept and ate. Moreover, he shows that lay activities in the church were often different from those of visiting clergy. After the pilgrims participate in the procession and tour of the church, they are given free run of the place for their own private devotions, and some pilgrims leave the group to pray, contemplate, and revisit the holy sites. During the night and early morning, Torkington says, “all we that war prestis seyd messe, Sum at Calvery, Sum at ower ladys Chapell, And Sum At the holy Sepulcre aftyr our Devocion.” As for the lay members of the group, he says that, “The laye Pylgrymes war howsyld [i.e., received communion] at the Chapell of Calvery.”⁶⁶ The following morning at dawn, the pilgrims gather to attend mass and buy a breakfast of bread, wine, and “other caseles” from Muslim vendors. They spend the day hearing mass and continuing their devotions until they are released the following morning at 10 or 11 a.m. by Muslim guards. From there they return to Mount Sion for lunch.⁶⁷

Wey’s text covers identical sites and also reveals still more information about pilgrim activities conducted overnight in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Like the other writers in this chapter, he describes the practicalities of sleeping arrangements, such that after the pilgrims visit the “stations” in the church, they eat and lie on the ground to sleep; during the middle of the night, however, he and other priests get up to say Matins, hear confessions of the other pilgrims, and say mass.⁶⁸ Wey is similarly detailed regarding his description of the layout of the church. Like the Anonymous and Torkington, Wey begins his tour of the

building at the north end of the Chapel of the Virgin.⁶⁹ Like them, Wey sees the stone where Christ appeared to Mary, the basement of the church where Helena discovered the True Cross, and the place where the crown, nails, spear, and thief's cross were found. His spatial directions, however, are more specific than Torkington's. For example, his description of where Christ was crowned would have been useful for future pilgrims locating it on their own: "Outside that door of the Chapel of Helena to the left hand is an altar, beneath which stands a column of about an arm's length in height, on which Jesus sat when he was crowned with thorns in the house of Pilate."⁷⁰ Such precise directions suggest that Wey intended his guide for use by actual pilgrims; his efforts for verbal precision also imply that the exact locations of certain holy places were not in themselves evident, but required interpretation so that the pilgrim could locate them. Moreover, Wey's specificity would have provided ample description for those making a virtual tour in their minds, with Wey's words creating images for those who had never been to the holy city. Even though he offers practical advice, his information is useful to the "pilgrim" reading at home, visualizing, for instance, the precise measurements of the size and shape of the tomb.⁷¹

The Anonymous' account of the Holy Sepulchre pays detailed attention to the church's layout and to miracle tales associated with the site, though his description is less precise than Wey's. During his visit, the Anonymous and his group are greeted at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by four Franciscans and four Greek monks; he writes that these men never leave the church, ensuring that there is always someone on duty. The building is round and of great size with high columns and apses. He likens it to the Church of Santa Maria in Rome of the same dimensions, at 180 feet in diameter. The Sepulchre, he writes, contains on its surface an opening which he compares to a dove cote. After hearing a miracle tale commonly told at the sepulchre at this time, the pilgrims move further into the church to view the location where Joseph of Arimathea dressed Christ's wounds after removing him from the cross. They then climb steps carved into Mount Calvary, singing hymns as they ascend. Wey describes the significance of Calvary as the site of the crucifixion of both Christ and the Good Thief. When the pilgrims descend the Mount of Calvary to Golgotha, they are shown where the skull of Adam was buried. Near the entryway of this place, the Anonymous sees the graves of Baldwin (described as "alter Machabeus") and Godfrey of Bouillon.⁷² From here they are led back into the choir of the church and inspect a hole in the pavement which they believed Christ had called the center of the world.

Following the priests to the northern end of the choir, they see the place where Christ was jailed before his crucifixion. In this area, they also see the column where he was bound and whipped.⁷³ Afterwards, the pilgrims are led back to the area around the Sepulchre and are shown the spot where Christ first appeared to Mary Magdalene after his resurrection; the place is commemorated by a hole in the pavement. With these visits, the Anonymous views the entire story of the Passion contained within one building, from the crucifixion to the resurrection, memorialized by pavement marks, interior design, and word of mouth.

The holy places in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre were instrumental in representing the different events of the Passion of Christ and were the main liminal points where Christian visitors shared an affective experience of the crucifixion, an event that medieval devotion held essential, and therefore mental re-enactment of it functioned as the core exercise of Christian community building. The accounts of many pilgrims, especially Margery Kempe, record a very emotional reaction to their visit to this church. Similarly, the Anonymous prescribes what he believes every visitor should experience; regarding the walls which “weep” with condensation, he asks rhetorically, “Who would not be moved to tears by imagining Christ on the cross weeping for our sins and teaching us to wash away our sins with tears?”⁷⁴ This method of remembering Christ’s torments follows the pattern of the Passion meditation, wherein the worshiper was to envision Christ’s suffering in his or her mind’s eye and thus be moved to tears of sympathy.⁷⁵ Thus any physical remains or objects thought to have come in contact with the crucifixion play a very important role in aiding this imaginative exercise.

Through the ritual processes of visiting the holy city, Jerusalem is viewed as both relic and text in the eyes of its visitors who sought spiritual merit by creating their own accounts. Similar to Wey’s lists that assisted in medieval memory formation, such rehearsal of the expected sites by reading, writing about, or visiting them represented a devotional exercise that united Christian writers, readers and pilgrims as they shared each site’s symbolic significance in almost liturgical fashion. Containing impressions of Jerusalem and following the textual patterns made by other devotees, pilgrim writing about the holy city may be viewed as a special variety of contact relic. Whether the author borrowed wholesale, or derived work piecemeal from established texts, there seems to have been an importance imputed to the act of writing of one’s own pilgrim account as a means of forming a connection with Jerusalem and with other Christian pilgrims who had recorded their journeys.

DEVELOPING CHRISTIAN *COMMUNITAS*: CULTURAL
INTERACTIONS WITH THE OTHER

The risks that accompanied travel, ranging from thirst, to shipwreck and murderous hostel keepers, led many to view their pilgrimage as a form of suffering akin to that endured by Christ or other saints with whom they identified. Pilgrim studies, such as those by Jonathan Sumption, Dee Dyas, and Colin Morris, outline the increased attentions in late medieval Christian devotion towards Christ's suffering body; as the location of the Passion, Jerusalem was essential for Christians as a catalyst for reanimating this experience.⁷⁶ In the works studied here, the self-inflicted punishment of sorts and lack of comfort endured on the pilgrim road seem to have added an authenticity and merit to the pilgrimage. As pilgrims together remembered the journey, they would have also experienced *communitas* as co-sufferers on the road to Jerusalem, and also, symbolically, with Christ. Long before the *Itinerarium*, the pilgrimage to Jerusalem was known to offer particular risks not as readily available elsewhere. As Marcus Bull has pointed out, surviving the pilgrimage to the Holy Land was often portrayed as tantamount to taking part in a miracle story in which one is the participant as well as the narrative object.⁷⁷ Historical evidence for such claims appears in clerical accounts, such as Book II of the *Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fidis*, written by Bernard of Angers in the eleventh century, offering an examination of fears associated specifically with travel to Jerusalem. To potential shipwreck and threat of pirates, then, one also could add the fear of imprisonment by Muslim captors.⁷⁸ As will be seen, these possibilities continued to worry pilgrims in the fourteenth century and beyond.

The great length of the journey left many travelers exposed to natural peril, especially that involved in sea travel. Most pilgrims traveled by ship after the 1291 loss of the Crusader States; before then, land passage had been a popular route. The common points of embarkation for the sea journey were Marseilles and Venice. From these cities, one could approach Jerusalem from Egypt or put in at Jaffa. Before it became dangerous, the Egyptian route offered a more extensive tour.⁷⁹ Most later medieval pilgrims set sail from Venice, with the galleys traveling along the coast from island to island for navigational ease and to remain close to shore.⁸⁰ Life aboard ship was dangerous for many reasons. As Torkington reports, three weeks after leaving Jaffa on his return trip to England, two English pilgrims died in quick succession, though he does not say how. With these deaths occurring so close together, one is tempted to speculate

that epidemics aboard ship, including food poisoning, were risks. Indeed, taking into consideration Chareyron's survey of unsanitary shipboard life, it is a wonder that so many pilgrims survived the sea journey.⁸¹ Torkington himself falls so ill that when his ship reaches Rhodes on September 25, he stays on the island to recover there for six weeks.⁸²

Another danger was bad weather which could force the pilgrim galley off schedule or even to sink. The Anonymous writes that his ship is blown off course several times.⁸³ On his return trip from Jerusalem, foul weather detains his boat on Cyprus for a month. He and his shipmates spend early January weathering such fierce winds that he and the crew vow more pilgrimages in exchange for deliverance. In early February, when the group finally leaves for Corfu, they are swept up in a severe storm, and to aid their chances of survival, they de-mast the ship and smash its windows. These dangers of imminent sickness and peril offer the pilgrim ample material for suggesting that his or her rescue is the result of divine intervention. For instance, the Anonymous, whose boat makes a narrow escape near the town of Coreggi, attributes the rescue to God's mercy, and he quotes the first prayer of the litany in the Roman breviary, thanking God, "for whom it is proper to be merciful and compassionate always."⁸⁴ This mentality suggests that there was a belief that Christians who found themselves in harm's way would witness God's assistance in saving them, or else experience his wrath in their demise.

A similar point of view toward personal danger and religious piety also inhabits Christian descriptions of interaction with the Muslim community within the Middle East. Cultural exchanges with local peoples, particularly religious Others, allowed interested pilgrims another layer of re-enactment as co-sufferers with Christ. Tied closely to this discourse of suffering is the Anonymous' depictions of the Muslim peoples he encounters along his journey to and throughout the Holy Land. While each author acknowledges the presence of other non-Latin-Christian religious groups such as Jacobites, Jews, and Nestorians, the Muslims are singled out as sources of aggression. It is clear, even before he reaches the port of Jaffa, that the Anonymous feels threatened by Muslim presence, and is inclined to interpret his interactions with them as rich with the potential for his own ruin. In one of his anecdotes, he remembers standing on his boat and watching men on shore, near Acre. He describes them as "Saracens . . . of great stature on war horses . . . some of [the men] were blacker than soot." Armed with "sticks or lances and Turkish bows," the men converse with the ship's captain, and the Anonymous and his companions fear that the captain is selling them into slavery. As it

happened, the Anonymous was not given over to the men, and therefore interprets the situation as a narrow escape, planned for him by the Christian God; he reports, “God, who *has not forgotten the cries of the wretched*, plucked us *from those bringing about iniquity*, and saved us *from the men of violence* (Psalms 9:12, 58:2), so that that which is written might be said about us: *God will judge his people and will have mercy on his servants* (Psalms 134:14).”⁸⁵ Here, the Anonymous’ applications of scripture show that the Holy Land was not only valuable as a place one visited to contact God through his physical relics, but also as a position from which to command God’s attention by putting oneself at physical risk. By providing a biblical context for his narrow escape, he re-frames threatening interactions as situations created by God for his instruction, and interprets his experiences in Palestine through a process of biblical exegesis, drawing on three different Psalms.

This employment of biblical exegesis in the Anonymous’ account directs new attention to the Muslim inhabitants in the Holy Land; it also reifies the practical world of this pilgrim with embellished meaning. The Anonymous’ most free use of exegetical interpretation regards something as mundane as an argument over a sack of wine. This event occurs when he describes his party’s departing Bethlehem for Jerusalem, having been “satisfied” with a particularly good vintage. As he recalls:

venerunt nobis obviam in equis bellicosus quatuor sathane satellites, milites Soldani, petentes zucham cuiusdam socii nostri plenam vino, quam vetuit illa. Quedam mulier anglicana, vini bibula, que mero de Bethleem incaluerat, de burdone suo percussit equum unius illorum. Et statim tres illorum, habentes in manibus suis flagella ferrea, tres impetus fecerunt in mulierem, ictus in illam dirigentes, et credo quod affuit beata Virgo Maria.

[four of Satan’s minions, soldiers of the Sultan, came upon us on warlike horses, seeking the sack full of wine belonging to a certain one of our friends – an act which that woman forbade. A certain English woman, drunk with wine, who had grown heated on wine from Bethlehem, struck the horse of one of the men from her donkey. And at once three of them, holding iron whips in their hands, made three attacks against the woman, directing their blows against her, and I believe that it was the blessed Virgin Mary who helped us.]⁸⁶

Borrowing biblical references, the Anonymous goes on to explain that the Virgin protected the woman “under the shade of her wings” so that the soldiers “touched not even the hem” of the woman’s garment.⁸⁷ Even though the miracle of the Englishwoman’s deliverance appears sufficient to prove God’s attention to the Anonymous as he travels on pilgrimage, the added element of biblical exegesis completes the picture in which the

English pilgrims saw themselves, like Christ, as predetermined victors over their adversaries. Describing the soldiers, the Anonymous adds:

Et statim stupefacti, fixi steterant in terra, ut diceremus illud quod scribitur: *In fremitu conculcabis terram et in furore obstupefacies gentes* (Habakkuk 3:12): *fiant immobiles quasi lapis donec pertranseat populus tuus quem possedisti domine* (Exodus 15:16); ita ut admiraretur ductor noster saracenus, affirmans se nunquam similem casum inter christianos et saracenos vidisse vel audisse, quin aud fuerant christiani verberibus saracenorum ad terram prostrati, vel duro carceri mancipati.

[And at once they stood fixed to the land, stupefied, so that we might say that which is written: *you will trample the earth in anger and in fury you will astound the people* (Habakkuk 3:12): *may they become immobile like a stone until your people, whom you abide in, O Lord, can cross* {the Red Sea} (Exodus 15:16); so that our Saracen guide marveled, affirming that he had never seen or heard of a similar occurrence between Christians and Saracens, but that the Christians usually have either been prostrated to the ground by the Saracens' whipping, or surrendered to a harsh imprisonment.]⁸⁸

The miraculous story of Christian dominance, whether actual or not, shows the writer's desire to challenge the Muslim presence. Here, the rhetoric of the saint's life inflects his tale, for his and his friend's skirmish is transformed into a miracle, with the Virgin interceding. Moreover, these acts of Christian resistance are rewarded as the Anonymous goes on to compare himself to God's chosen victors: in relating this incident, the Anonymous implies that Christian resistance is supported by divine power, offering biblical, hagiographical explanations for the woman's escape from her assailants: they are stunned by God, just like the Egyptians who pursued the Israelites to the banks of the Red Sea. As well as being a direct challenge to the Muslim presence, the quotation of biblical verses was a common form of re-enacting, or even "reliving," sacred history on pilgrimage, offering an opportunity for ritual performance of archetype, as is recorded in works ranging from Egeria's letters to Felix Fabri's journals. Here, the English pilgrims not only relive the events of Old Testament deliverance, but also reanimate memories of early medieval crusading involvement. In both quotations above, the supposedly weakest of the English group, a woman, strikes a "Saracen" and prevails.

In contrast to such events where Muslims represent mortal threats to the Anonymous, his interactions with those who are fulfilling a helpful, assisting role in the pilgrim's progress throughout Palestine receive no exegetical glossing. For instance, he speaks of his encounter with the Admiral of Ramla, who, he says, "received us into the peace of the Sultan, when we had paid as tribute six Venetian grossi."⁸⁹ Like the Anonymous,

Wey and Torkington followed the customs set by local authorities, and were made to wait aboard ship for one or two days while administrative dealings were settled. As mentioned previously, Muslim guides were instrumental in conveying the pilgrims from their galley to the port city of Jaffa where the Anonymous, Wey, and Torkington, characteristic of contemporary pilgrims, again report delays and mistreatment by their guides.⁹⁰ Although the pilgrims are dissatisfied with the presence of the Muslims, the travelers show that they need this assistance during their journeys in order to earn their own salvation. In the narratives mentioned here and in other contemporary pilgrim accounts, mistreatment and delays are depicted as slights delivered purposely by Muslim authorities, but these insults are transformed into devotional aids, again uniting the pilgrims with each other as co-sufferers and symbolically connecting them with Christ, whom they viewed as a model of endurance.

The Anonymous depends on his Muslim guides to get him from place to place, and he also relies on them to fulfill the role of the first-century Jewish people he read about in the Bible. Looking down to the paved esplanade of the Haram esh-Sharif, he says, “we saw Saracens walk, as if buying and selling in the market. From here, as I believe, our Savior drove out the sellers, sheep and cows, and toppled the chairs of those who sold doves (Matthew 21:12).”⁹¹ Tellingly, the Anonymous does not then proceed to storm the Temple Mount and disrupt local commerce, unlike other engagements where he himself is an actor in his own apocryphal narrative. Here, he is quick to associate Jerusalem’s contemporary Muslim inhabitants with other groups as they populate and activate his biblical memory. I would suggest that where the Anonymous finds Jerusalem lacking in its virtual representation of Christ’s life events, he improvises creatively with the peoples he finds there. In this sense, he views the contemporary Muslim peoples as mimetic representations, enacting for him the behavior of the Jews whom he perceived as tormenters of Christ. Certainly there were Jewish peoples living in Jerusalem at the time of his visit, but their numbers were low – one report lists the Jewish population at around 500 men and women.⁹² Here, he is drawing on the antagonism he perceives as supplied by contemporary Muslims, not fourteenth-century Jews. While the Anonymous applies this representational reading, he is also very aware of the Muslim presence as a contemporary matter, for while Islamic peoples seem to provide the threat so necessary in his personal re-enactment of biblical narrative, their roles as pilgrim protectors, administrators, and tour guides is the very thing enabling his trip.

First-century, scriptural events that took place in and near Jerusalem were not the only occurrences that pilgrims wished to rehearse, nor did pilgrims limit their enactments to hagiographical models: some Jerusalem devotees also viewed unarmed pilgrimage as an opportunity to experience crusade, inflecting their suffering with the martyrdom associated with that militaristic activity. To this end, some pilgrims adopted aggressive language and crusade rhetoric into their devotion. For these Christian travelers, even the act of pilgrimage itself represented a temporary occupation of space. Non-Christian rulership of Jerusalem is questioned repeatedly by the Anonymous, Wey, and Torkington; likewise, members of Islam, referred to in the texts generically as “Saracens,” are depicted in overtly negative fashion. In these instances, Christian identity is textually consolidated as a force united against Islam, and is also depicted as a group far more deserving of Jerusalem than its “depraved” adversary.⁹³ The feelings of embattlement against non-Christian competitors for the city are passed down through written accounts and emulated in different forms, suggesting a degree of Christian community involvement and acceptance of this model of behavior. Such practice offered a connection to Christians of earlier centuries who had claimed the holy city, enabling chronologically transcendent *communitas*. The three English itineraries studied here agree in their perceptions of Islam, defining Muslim presence as a destructive force on the Holy Land, and verbalizing their resistance through varied means.

Of the works discussed in this chapter, that of the Anonymous utilizes crusading rhetoric most frequently. The Crusader States had fallen and the Holy Land had been in Muslim hands for more than fifty years by the date of the Anonymous’ journey in 1344. In light of the Muslim rule, and the prevalent western Christian desire to reconquer the Holy Land, many pilgrim accounts from the fourteenth century onwards display an interest in the remaining Latin strongholds near the Middle East. Like Wey and Torkington after him, the Anonymous carefully describes the home of the Hospitaller Knights on the island of Rhodes. He displays respect for their order, referring to their master as “one of the Lords of the world.” The pilgrim describes the island as perfectly governed; there is no poverty, nor does anyone go away from there empty-handed. Almost like Paradise, “an abundance of fruits and delicacies abounds there.”⁹⁴ He explains the spiritual significance of Rhodes and the specifically English role in the Hospitallers’ continued success:

Ad illum locum concurrunt christiani universarum regionum et iuxta doctrinam Apostoli: *abicientes opera tenebrarum, induentes arma lucis* (Romans 13:12)

cum fratribus militibus Hospitalis, in armis strenuissimis, Thurcis aut aliis Saracenis nunquam bellando terga vertentibus, arma, lingua [*sic*] replent, ut apes alvearia sua: ad castrum Lismere in terra Thurchorum, de quo fratres Hospitalis, Anglorum auxilio suffulti, Thurcos ut canes eiecerunt.

[At that place the Christians of all the regions assemble and, according to the doctrine of the Apostle {Paul}: *casting away the works of darkness, taking up the arms of light* (Romans 13:12) with the brother-knights of the Hospital, most strong in arms, never fleeing from the Turks or other Saracens in battle, they replenish their arms {and} wood as bees {fill} their hives, at Castle Lismere, in the land of the Turks, from which the Hospitallers, supported by the English, ejected the Turks like dogs.]⁹⁵

With reference to Paul's letter to the Romans, the writer links the spiritual role of the Hospitallers to their military campaigns, justifying their militant and priestly function through the biblical verse, Romans 13:12: "the night is passed and the day is at hand. Let us therefore cast off the works of darkness and put on the armour of light."⁹⁶ It is ambiguous whether the "darkness" refers to the threat caused by the moral corruption already existing in the souls of Christians, the Muslim occupation of the Holy Land, or both; however, the pilgrim sees the role of the Christians at Rhodes as defenders of the "light," allowing the double-meaning that they are inwardly spiritually pious and that they fight for Christian conquest of the Holy Land. Significantly, the Anonymous credits the English with winning the day in this drama, adding to a text that was ostensibly about pilgrimage the implications of English crusading might and steadfast dedication.

The Anonymous amplifies the powerful nature of the Muslim host as if to explain why the Christian army find them difficult to defeat. He says that his adversaries are "like lions in the woodlands," and states that "they are ferocious in battle." Moreover, he writes that their body types predispose them to martial superiority: "for they are from the giant race and descended from the poisoned bloodline of the Philistines."⁹⁷ Here, the Anonymous likens the Muslims to the Philistines who enlisted the aid of Goliath the giant in I Samuel 17:4–54.⁹⁸ By establishing symmetry between the giant of the Old Testament and the fourteenth-century Muslim soldiers in the Middle East, the writer implies that his opponents are indeed an indomitable force. This praise of Islamic military might, however, proves to be a double-edged compliment, for as fierce as the Philistines and the Goliath of the Old Testament were depicted, they were easily overcome by David, suggesting that the western Christians would one day conquer them as David did, with the

help of God.⁹⁹ Furthermore, perhaps an English audience was to infer that they would eventually see Christian domination of the Holy Land, “Anglorum auxilio.”

Muslim presence was also construed as potentially dangerous in other ways. For example, all three accounts imply that the Holy Land has deteriorated from the time of Christ due to both the passage of time and Islamic settlement. The Anonymous, in particular, seems interested not just in the holy shrines or scenery around him, but also in the effects of the Muslim habitation on the land. He comments on the city of Acre, which was, until the end of the thirteenth century, the last Latin Christian stronghold in the Middle East. From his galley he sees “the destroyed city of Acre,” and looks for signs of life, but finds the area so desolate that he sees only the ruins of an old fortress.¹⁰⁰ More poignantly, he points out Muslim degradation of holy sites; for instance, when the pilgrims visit a cave beneath the Mount of Olives, the writer notes a place where, “in the time of the Christians,” there had been a church, implying that the Muslims are careless about preserving Christian artefacts. Indeed, he seems to blame them for the fact that the works of art in that church are now trampled by animals. In another instance, he describes the pilgrims’ emotional response to the Church of the Blessed Virgin in Bethlehem, famous as a marker of Christ’s birth. Here, he says, visitors weep, not because they are happy for Christ’s nativity, but rather because they are “lamenting that such a most consecrated place was under Saracen guardianship.”¹⁰¹ Wey, too, notes the state of disrepair he sees in the Holy Land, mentioning ruins of cities “once great, but now destroyed.”¹⁰² Torkington likewise reports that the area is dilapidated, stating that Jaffa, in spite of its rich biblical history, is now a ruin with no houses.¹⁰³ As much as all three writers lament the decay of the Holy Land, it is the Anonymous, the earliest of the three, who complains the most bitterly about the decrepit state of the region. He says that there is little to attract a pilgrim wishing to see signs of Christ. He reasons that although a great part of the existing city of Jerusalem was *in situ* during the time of Christ’s Passion, there is nothing much left to see except “fallen down walls and fields of stones.”¹⁰⁴ Like Wey and Torkington after him, the Anonymous notes that the Christian remains of the Holy Land are less than what he expected to find.

Wey, too, has an encounter with the Muslims which may have reminded him of western failure to own the Holy Land. As his group rides toward Jerusalem, they pass “Saracen” soldiers on the road,

dressed as if they are prepared for battle, bearing a captured Christian standard:

in eadem aurora veniebant contra nos in gravi multitudine Sarazeni equitantes, quasi parati ad bellum, cum tubis et vexillo in quo depictus erat calix cum hostia in despectum Christianorum; quia unus regum Francie captus in bello posuit Soldano postea redimere.

[on that same morning a great crowd of Saracen horsemen accosted us; they were prepared as if for war, with trumpets and a banner on which a chalice was painted with the sacrificial Host in contempt for the Christians; since one of the kings of France, captured in war, pledged it to the Sultan to ransom it later.]¹⁰⁵

Such constant reminders of Christian loss in the Holy Land seem significant to the Anonymous and Wey as a symbol of past Christian military weakness. This particular anecdote is unique to Wey, but demonstrates that crusading memory was a vital part of pilgrimage, even after the embarrassing thirteenth-century defeats. To Wey, the captured French standard, shown here in the wrong hands, is placed symbolically as an inspiration for another crusade. Here, as mentioned elsewhere, Muslim aggression adds necessary danger to the Christian pilgrimage, thereby assimilating the religious Other into the experience of devotion. In these cases the Other is depicted variably, in that a continuum of experience is represented: at one end of the range, writers come to rely on the Muslims as agents of humility and danger; at the other end, Islam symbolizes a provocative target of Christian wrath and vengeance.

In completing his work, the Anonymous states that his dangerous ordeal will earn its just rewards in heaven. The Anonymous is deeply compensated for the suffering he says he endures, for as he himself recounts, he and his English companions may claim the crown of martyrdom after their journeys in Jerusalem are complete. His Muslim contemporaries aid in this process of sainthood, for portrayed as scourge, interpreted through the Anonymous' exegetical technique, they have the potential to enable the Christian martyr and *imitator Christi* in the pages of pilgrim narrative. Ever mindful of the spiritual reward of his journey, he concludes his account by describing his hopes for the second coming of Christ:

Et nos tres anglici . . . expectamus beatam spem et adventum glorie magni Dei, qui secundum Apostolum reformabit corpus humilitatis nostre configuratum corpori claritatis sue, qui venturus est et merces eius cum eo, et ut dicit propheta, reddens unicuique secundum opera sua. Et sic reposita est nobis corona iustitie quam reddet nobis in illa die iustus iudex.

[And we three English people . . . await the blessed hope and coming of the glory of the great God, who, according to the Apostle, will reform the body of our humiliation according to his splendid body, he who is about to arrive and his rewards with him, and, as the prophet says, giving to each one according to his works. And thus the crown of justice has been set aside for us – the crown which the just judge will give to us on that day.]¹⁰⁶

The Anonymous' pilgrimage, made with his two friends, is spiritually important, for by suffering the discomforts of the journey and by risking their lives to see the holy places, they believed that they had earned the martyr's crown, and had thus reserved for themselves a place in paradise. Like the crusaders who held that their suffering and possible deaths in the Holy Land would bring them this reward, the Anonymous links his pilgrimage to a similar experience: he has endured the dangers of the journey and the wiles of his "Saracen" adversary to earn his salvation. Notably, the Anonymous, writing in the fourteenth century, engages with these images to a greater degree than either Wey or Torkington does, suggesting the Anonymous' close proximity to the height of crusading. The Anonymous differentiates his account from those produced by Continental writers by accompanying his complaints against Islam with images of crusade, embellished by claims of English powers. The Anonymous' portrayal of the English – from women to practiced knights – as embattled with Islam suggests that, for some, pilgrim identity was never far from that of the crusader. The other writers in this chapter, like their European contemporaries, nevertheless show notable disquiet about Muslim peoples, ranging from Wey's vision of the crusade pennant to Torkington's annoyance at the neglected shrines. However overt his challenge to Islam is, each writer studied here demonstrates various degrees of unease about Muslim dominion of the Holy Land, and yet also shows reliance on this Muslim presence to complete the portrayal of his own Christian identity. Here, it is evident that the perceived threat of Islam was vital to late medieval pilgrimage and actually expanded the range of Christian devotional experience.

TOURISM AND PILGRIMAGE: SITUATING JERUSALEM
IN LATER ACCOUNTS

Having addressed those elements of pilgrim narrative that were portrayed conventionally – that is, the landscape of Jerusalem and the danger represented by its inhabitants – I turn in this final section to discuss elements that showed rapid change. Notably, the accounts by Torkington

and Wey, unlike that of the Anonymous, explore many other themes and experiences in addition to Jerusalem pilgrimage and the scriptural mnemonic that the sites represent. In fact, in parts of their work, both writers display a fascination with cities and sites unrelated to the Holy Land; moreover, Wey and Torkington also cater to secular interests, offering surveys of wine, women, and Greco-Roman artefacts as they go. This rising engagement with the secular world is nowhere more clear than in the writers' regard for Venice. While Wey hardly mentions Venice in his first account, his second is replete with extensive descriptions of the wealth he sees in St. Mark's Cathedral. He spends a month in that city, participating in civic ceremonies, watching processions, witnessing the annual Marriage to the Sea, and touring the Venetian arsenal.¹⁰⁷ He also offers extensive lists of the city's relics, some of which are in St. Mark's, such as the stone Moses struck in the desert which then yielded water.¹⁰⁸ The remaining account of relics is a roster of dozens of names of saints and martyrs which he mentions one after the other with no statement about the appearance of the shrines, their significance, or whether he indeed visited them.¹⁰⁹

Such attention to the wealth and ceremonies of Venice suggests the existence of an already well-developed tourist interest which captured the attention of English travelers en route to the Holy Land to an increasing degree. Admiring sentiments about Venice also appear in Torkington's account: he stays in the city making similar notes about the wealth of St. Mark's, watching processions and the Marriage of the Sea, and viewing the arsenal. As mentioned earlier, Torkington may have borrowed his Venetian information wholesale; however, whatever the source, his and Wey's work indicates a pattern of English admiration for Venetian wealth and ceremony.¹¹⁰ While this interest does not necessarily signify a diminished focus on the Holy Land in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it does show Venice as an increasingly attractive destination during the Holy Land excursion. Indeed, the civic pageantry of Venice had much to offer the curious traveler as Torkington himself shows, spending six weeks in that city compared to a few days in the Holy Land. The fact that pilgrims spent such a relatively short time in Jerusalem also may have been attributable to Christian and Muslim administrators who designed the tour to take a specified, minimal amount of time; likewise, conditions for most pilgrims were not luxurious, and therefore tempted few to remain for extended stays.

Expectations of travel for pleasure were shifting by the sixteenth century, but did this really affect expectations of the sacred sites?¹¹¹ One

could speculate that suspicions regarding the veracity of relics may have affected the number of Jerusalem visitors; however, little evidence supports this theory, and reservations of this kind antedate Jerome. Nevertheless, the three pilgrims in this chapter express occasional skepticism about the authenticity of the relics they saw. For instance, on Cyprus, the Anonymous questions the cross relic's provenance when he visits the Mount of the Holy Cross. It has come to light over the past few years, he says, that this is not the cross on which Christ was crucified; rather, it belonged to the thief crucified next to Christ. The question of the cross's authenticity upsets him, but he continues his devotions in its absence.¹¹² Wey, too, voices his concerns over the relics' veracity, and adds a separate section to the account of his second trip to Jerusalem, listing his queries over the histories of certain objects. He shares eleven of these doubts, including questions over the physical possibility of organic substances, such as Christ's blood, surviving for over 1,300 years. In this case, Wey wonders whether the column on which Christ was scourged still has Christ's blood on it. He records his answer, presumably from his Franciscan guides, saying "the response was" that the blood is not there now, but that the column still shows the marks from the whip.¹¹³ Likewise, Wey appears interested in whether or not miraculous events still occur in the Holy Land under the Muslim occupation, wondering if the lamps above the sepulchre still go out on Good Friday and re-light themselves again on Easter day. "It was answered" that this phenomenon no longer happens since the Christian faith is no longer the majority there; nevertheless, Wey's responder holds out the tantalizing detail that "it is said" that in spite of this absence of the holy fire, a Muslim saw flames descending from heaven and landing on the Holy Sepulchre.¹¹⁴ Such a reply, embellished as it is by an unconfirmed source of the competing religion, was no doubt designed to accommodate those who wished to believe in the miracle.

Although Wey and the Anonymous produce their accounts almost seventy to 170 years before Torkington, the two writers express more skepticism regarding the relics' identity than the latter does. This difference is surprising since one would expect these two narratives to show *less* skepticism than Torkington's because his was composed immediately before the shrines' condemnation by Henry VIII in 1536. That the latest pilgrim in this study is eager to record the more fanciful tales about the pilgrimage, however, supports the notion that there was no absolute, linear, chronological development regarding the perception of the relics' veracity from belief to suspicion. Torkington's continued

support of relics is typical of other contemporary European travel narratives and probably demonstrates his reliance on written authority to strengthen his own work. What is most significant, then, is the fact that later medieval pilgrims continued to venerate the holy places at the same time that they acknowledged the long-held suspicions associated with the sites. Such devotion suggests that it was in spite of the doubts which many knew existed that medieval pilgrims still traveled to the Holy Land, described the sites as sacred, and felt that they had earned a spiritual reward. Indeed, Wey and the Anonymous both mention their reservations about the relics, but describe themselves as spiritually blessed by their journeys to the holy places, whatever the status of those remains may have been. One is tempted to speculate that the practice of recording such questions in pilgrim journals had become commonplace, or that the inclusion of such reservations demonstrated for their medieval audience the extraordinary faith of the pilgrim to persevere in the spiritual exercise, claims of authenticity notwithstanding. Finally, this practice draws attention to the land itself, whose value as the witness to Christ's Passion made it an enduring contact relic.

The pilgrim itineraries addressed in this chapter demonstrate the role of the pilgrim writer in perpetuating the image of the terrestrial Jerusalem into the late medieval and Early Modern periods. As members of an itinerant community, sometimes separated by more than one hundred years, their memorials of the holy city provided a stabilized source of devotion, offering standardized teaching and indulgences to its devotees who relived Christ's Passion. Jerusalem's significance, then, emanates from its writers whose texts capture its image, who present themselves as would-be saints and crusaders, forever embattled in attaining that city. The use of biblical scripture and pilgrim writing to perpetuate value seems to have been the preferred means of establishing significance, and shows that text and landscape together supplied the accessible locus of *communitas* so essential to the Jerusalem pilgrimage. The recitation of biblical experience, along with the practice of re-animating the accounts of other pilgrims, created a ritual performance of the Holy Land to be shared among English and northern European Christians. Interaction with scripture is thus made available to those at all levels of society who could travel abroad, or read or listen to the accounts. The importance of the holy city is kept and created in the imaginations of its pilgrims, writers, and guides, making textual community and its ability to store memory essential to fully viewing and understanding the sacred place.

Finally, the pilgrim texts studied here portray Jerusalem as a place attainable by all Christian peoples of any geographical origin. The city is not shown as a competitive goal, dividing members of the Christian community. Rather, it is portrayed ideally, offering shared experience of common sights to be seen and read about, various obstacles to be endured, and common adversaries to be overcome. This placement of Jerusalem in the English pilgrim imaginary depicts the city as non-exclusive to English right, or to that of any other Christian country. Certainly this element of competition is visible between Christianity and Islam, but, as discussed here, Muslim ownership of Jerusalem is both resisted and consolidated in these pilgrim texts. The majority of medieval works depicting unarmed pilgrimage tend to present Jerusalem as a source of world-wide, communal identity among Christians. As I will show, in narratives depicting armed pilgrimage, this is not always the case; for in the quest to attain Jerusalem and permanently own it, Christian *communitas* is fractured. In many works imagining armed pilgrimage, Jerusalem divides Christian solidarity; the city becomes a symbol of national achievement and religious superiority, as well as a temporary destination of itinerant devotion.

*Craving heritage: portrayals of
Richard I and the English quest for Jerusalem
in Richard, Coer de Lyon*

As seen in the [previous chapter](#), English pilgrim narratives portrayed communal desire for Jerusalem through images of the Passion, and also through interactions with the religious Other. By comparison, the author of the poem, *Richard, Coer de Lyon* (*sic*), reorients the holy city in the English imagination as an acquisitive object as well as a pilgrim destination.¹ Middle English versions of the text, written in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, narrate England's participation in the Third Crusade, and offer a revised look at twelfth-century crusading endeavors and the role of King Richard I of England. As I discuss here, the poet employs images of crusading and depicts Jerusalem in ways that express certain beliefs about Richard's English heritage. The poet portrays Richard and King Philip II of France united in a competition to own the holy city and to express mastery over the Christian troops. As Richard's powers increase throughout the romance, Philip, along with his men, behaves foolishly, to the extent that French devotion and military might are questioned and ultimately declared a liability in the Third Crusade. As I discuss here, such portrayals reveal perceptions of English religious identity and examples of crusade-inflected propaganda related to the Hundred Years War.

By creatively retelling the events of the past, the poem works to form what Benedict Anderson has termed the "imagined community," as characteristics of what is considered "English" are held up against those which are not.² Numerous scholars have speculated on the *Richard* romance as a reflection of England's nationhood. On the one hand, Susan Crane argues against a nationalist interpretation of the text, and describes it as expressive of individual rather than national achievement on the grounds that its hero and his crusade are "far from exemplary in Christian

terms.” On the other hand, Diane Speed interprets the poet’s characterization of Richard as a hero on a chivalric quest as a means to strengthen the English nation.³ Other scholars, such as Alan Ambrisco, make much of Richard’s interactions with the French and Muslims as elements of the poem’s interest in nationhood.⁴ Relating English national identity to Christianity and the crusades, Thorlac Turville-Petre asserts that *Richard* participated in English nationalism as a recruitment piece for those campaigns. Similarly, Geraldine Heng views Richard’s crusading as a sign of English national identity, adding that the portrayal of his cannibalism was intended to relieve cultural anxieties about Richard’s identity and English crusading behaviors of the past.⁵ More recently, Suzanne Conklin Akbari has assessed the crucial aspect of theological language and symbolism as influential in unifying the community of the English, distinguishing it from its European neighbors, and firmly establishing the poem’s discourse of nationalism.⁶ Building on the work of Akbari, Heng, and Turville-Petre, I discuss the poem’s portrayals of pious violence and communal desire for Jerusalem as essential elements of English nationalism in the late medieval period. Unlike the previous scholarly approaches that examine the poem as propaganda for crusade or that refer to crusade itself as a marker of nationalism, this study brings to the forefront the poet’s use of Jerusalem – Richard’s hopes to claim it, his ancestral rights to it, and the means he takes to win it – as expressive of English national identity. By relating twelfth-century English interests to Jerusalem, England could become distinct from Europe, sacred in its own right, and elevated above other peoples in policy and warfare.

German and French chronicles do not show Richard I as a king who is as ardent about the holy city as the Middle English romance makes him out to be. Yet it is noteworthy that most later English medieval sources portray a king fiercely devoted to Jerusalem. How, then, does the city function in this equation? Exegetical sources and pilgrim ideologies mentioned in the introduction to this study show the medieval regard for Jerusalem as a relic in its own right. Even Richard I, in his twelfth-century letter to Saladin, is said to have called the city of Jerusalem an “object of Christian worship.”⁷ As earlier discussed, Jerusalem and its environs, through contact with Christ’s life events and the lives of other holy men and women, were viewed as relics. These theological justifications of the city’s sacred nature were expanded in the crusades as western leaders came to see Jerusalem as a devotional prize whose religious significance could confer on them the favor of God and divine authority over the known world. It is this lens through which I view the romance as it orients

Richard in terms of his relation to the holy city. The Middle English romance presents Richard as a king of unmatched piety, and as a ruler with direct claim to Jerusalem. These two images of sacred inheritance and exemplary morality were inextricable. As I discuss in the third chapter, the Hebrew Bible and Christian exegetes such as Nicholas of Lyra, Joachim of Fiore, and Ralph of Coggeshall claimed that the holy city would fall only into the hands of those whom God had selected. Therefore, regarding twelfth-century Islamic dominion of the Holy Land, Muslim rule was perceived as a means by which God punished those Christians believed to have been too immoral to have become suitable rulers. Certainly this sentiment would have placed the historical Richard in a difficult position, for his failure to win Jerusalem, along with his treaty that continued the city under Saladin, could have been viewed as a sign of Richard's unworthiness as a Christian king. Indeed, as scholars such as Rosalind Field, John Finlayson, John Gillingham, and Heng have shown, the romance worked to rectify perceived sinful defects in the historical king's character, among them rumors of his patricide, homosexuality, and secret alliances with Saladin.

In *Richard*, Jerusalem is seen as a talisman of political power and divine right, and I would propose that the poem's depiction of Richard's desire for the city represents an attempt to sacralize his kingship.⁸ The romance situates Jerusalem as a focus of adoration and political power in the medieval imaginary; it also uses images of the Other to highlight Christian desire for the holy city. In comparison to the texts discussed in [chapter one](#), the works of the Anonymous, Wey, and Torkington enabled the *communitas* of all Christians through devotion to Christ's Passion and by the reification of the Muslim Other; the poem, however, employs a different strategy: it wed images of the French and Muslim Other to promote *communitas* among English Christians alone. It is this specific and exclusive use of English *communitas* that suggests the poem's function as expressive of that country's developing national identity, positioning the English solely as God's "chosen people," deserving the inheritance of Jerusalem. That nations sought pride of place from their role in the crusades is seen in pilgrim writing from 1170, when responsibility for the Latin takeover of the holy city in the First Crusade was still contested. German pilgrim and priest, John of Würzburg, complains about Frankish desire to take credit for the campaign:

Nevertheless, although everyone is anxious for his own honour, the siege of the city is not ascribed to him with any German troops, who were not least in the

labours and actions of that expedition, but only to the Franks. Hence also these detractors of our race deleted the epitaph of the famous Wicher, approved by many a famous deed, because they could not deny he was German. They replaced it with an epitaph of some French soldier.⁹

There is no doubt that Würzburg, had he been alive during the fourteenth century, would have been similarly annoyed with the poetic stylings of the Third Crusade. Germans do appear in the romance version of this campaign, and they are given slight recognition for their role, but the poet of this late medieval work raises the level of English participation and leadership on the Third Crusade, thereby dwarfing that of other major contributors, especially that of the French and their regional allies. Moreover, this example provided by Würzburg shows the willingness to alter historical sources when they did not comply with an ideal communal memory. It is this inclination to change the past, together with the practice of both imagining and remembering a community history with special links to the sacred, that deserves more attention as scholars assess romance and chronicle as tools to consolidate and form community identity.

THE BACKGROUND OF RICHARD'S ROMANCE

The *Richard* romance would have played an important role in creating new memories of the past, for it was as entertaining as it was innovative. It now survives in seven manuscripts and two printings.¹⁰ Karl Brunner traces the manuscript back to two separate versions, labeled *a* and *b*; his edition represents the *a* version of the text. The edition is drawn from one of the seven manuscripts (Gonville and Caius MS 175), supplemented by the printed versions of Wynkyn de Worde, both of which represent the later and longer *a* versions of the poem.¹¹ The poem's oldest extant manuscripts are the Auchinleck manuscript of 1330, which appears as a fragment, and the Egerton manuscript of the later fourteenth century. The other manuscripts date to the fifteenth century. According to the poet, the romance is taken from a French source.¹² More specifically, Gaston Paris and Roger Loomis have suggested that the text was originally composed in Anglo-Norman; however, evidence for this assertion has yet to be found.¹³ Along with the possibility of a French or Anglo-Norman original, the work's provenance is further complicated by another commentary linking it to a pre-existing Latin work.¹⁴ If the poem were indeed derived from a source text, its date is unknown, although it must

post-date the twelfth century. Whatever its provenance, the *Richard* romance enjoyed popularity in England among a socially diverse audience and survives in as many manuscripts as two other popular English romances, *Bevis of Hampton* and *The Siege of Jerusalem*.¹⁵ The poem is believed to have fulfilled a taste for the king's exploits, to the extent that Loomis speculates that localized English "cults" of Richard existed.¹⁶ In English and Anglo-Norman chronicle accounts of Richard's activities, coverage is, in Helen Nicholson's words, "extensive but uneven."¹⁷ Like the Anglo-Norman *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, Roger of Howden's *Chronica* and the anonymous *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* (hereafter referred to as the *Itinerarium*), both of English origin, are usually considered reliable, eye-witness narratives of the Third Crusade.¹⁸ This chapter focuses on the latter two, for these particular chronicles share many details in common with the poem.¹⁹ If the English chronicles did indeed serve as the basis for *Richard*, then the poet makes several additions that include (but are not limited to) discussion of Richard's diabolical parentage, his cannibalism, and the fictitious participation of Fouke Douly and Thomas Moulton. While both romance and chronicles record differing versions of the events of the Third Crusade, many scholars have argued that these English writers of romance and history shared a goal of embellishing Richard's character.²⁰

Portrayals of English medieval participation in the Third Crusade show that English chroniclers and romancers were interested in distinguishing their insular audiences from the French, Germans, and other groups, and presenting them as a holy people dedicated to crusading and taking their place as heirs of the terrestrial Jerusalem. I would suggest that the use of Richard's aggression, particularly his cannibalistic episodes in the romance, worked as signs of divine favor, and supported his claim to the holy city. This entitlement put him into competition with King Philip Augustus II of France, and would have served later audiences in justifying inter-Christian warfare against the French. The romance of *Richard* presents the intersections of nationalism and Christian faith as cultural markers which the poet uses to define the English as a "most Christian" people, having a special relationship to Jerusalem and thereby distinguished from their Continental neighbors. Though claiming to be God's "chosen people" is not a distinctively English activity, the appearance of this trope in English writing long after the French had adopted it is remarkable, and its use in the poem suggests its adaptation to serve the interests of English community-building, contributing to the work of imagining the nation.²¹

RICHARD'S HISTORICAL CHARACTER AND
INVOLVEMENT IN THE THIRD CRUSADE

Of the Christian crusades to the Holy Land which took place between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, the Third Crusade is the one most celebrated in English chronicles and romances. Through this campaign, King Richard I of England and King Philip Augustus II of France took control of Cyprus and restored Acre to a Christian rule that lasted for one hundred years. Other historical sources show that this crusading past was nothing as glorious as the romance suggests. While English soldiers participated in the First and Second Crusades, their numbers were small in comparison to those of their French and German counterparts, and they were virtually unrepresented at the upper levels of crusade leadership. In the romance version, however, Richard's two most reliable generals are notably English, perhaps paying corrective (though fictive) attention to posterity.²² As seen in the works of medieval historians and writers of romance, Richard I was the most renowned English king in crusading history and provided English writers with a crusading hero *par excellence*. The historical Richard, however, seems an unlikely representative of English nationhood, for he had more extensive connections to France than he did England. In fact, he only visited England twice as an adult, in 1176 and 1184, before his coronation. His Angevin heritage meant that he was also a French duke, with prodigious holdings in France, while from his mother he held the large and wealthy Aquitaine.

When the crusades began, the majority participation of English lords was taken up by England's nobility: the Norman and Angevin rulers.²³ As Richard Southern has pointed out, during the First Crusade, French nobility perceived England as little more than a colony, and the French lords who held dominions there participated in the First Crusade in the name of France.²⁴ As the French chronicles portray Richard, he was only mildly interested in England and more concerned with crusading and defending his Continental holdings from Philip.²⁵ As later English romancers describe the thirteenth-century events, however, Richard is given distinctively "English" interests. Loomis suggests that these portrayals represent a type of narrative competition between French and English writers, as either Richard or Philip is given the credit for crusading success depending on the nationality of the author.²⁶ Thus, in the late thirteenth-century French romance, *Le Pas Saladin*, it is Philip's leadership which is emphasized as he organizes twelve champions of the Christian army, including Richard, to hold a pass against the Saracens.²⁷

However, both the English medieval chronicles and the romance “correct” other perceptions by ignoring Richard’s position as a French duke with French cultural and political loyalties. As Akbari and others have shown, the *Richard* romance transforms Richard into a hero with specifically English interests.²⁸ By reading this romance, a fourteenth-century English audience encountered a new sense of tradition.

REINVENTING THE PAST: THE POETIC RICHARD,
CANNIBAL, AND “CHRISTIANISSIMUS REX”

In contrast to the rather detached French duke, the Richard of the romance is portrayed as a devout, Christian king whose success is the result of God’s favor. Both the romance and chronicles include miracles which happen in Richard’s presence, and show various characters, especially his adversaries, in awe of his superhuman proficiency.²⁹ The miracles which are associated with Richard are often related to combat. For instance, the Christians experience only one one-hundredth of the loss of lives that the Muslims do at the siege of Acre, and this is attributed to God’s protection.³⁰ In the chronicles, the miracle of the inextinguishable flame in the Holy Sepulchre is said to reappear upon Richard’s entry into the Holy Land.³¹ The poet, however, further embellishes Richard’s ties with the divine. Along with the miracles he inspires, the poetic Richard is the only person who experiences visions. For example, an angel appears to him to present a divinely sanctioned campaign strategy and to encourage his battle. Likewise, in a skirmish against Saladin, Richard collapses from heat exhaustion and calls on Mary and Christ. In response, he sees the figure of St. George riding toward him, dressed in white and bearing a red cross on his armor (4889–92).³² Richard is so inspired by this vision that he redoubles his efforts, forcing the Saracens to flee into the mountains. In another instance, at the end of the narrative, he envisions an angel who commands him to storm Jaffa before he leaves the Holy Land. The angel is also said to establish terms of peace between Richard and Saladin, and the demands are subsequently implemented (6970–4).

Such strategies designed to embellish Richard’s piety may be of little surprise to present-day readers familiar with the patterns of medieval romance and chronicle. What is worth nothing, however, is that, along with the religious piety which characterizes Richard’s stellar service record, the later version of the romance shows him capable of great atrocities which seem to be divinely sanctioned. In the romance, Richard not only

slays his enemies, he also eats them. The first instance of this cannibalism comes about as the result of an illness; in this case, the Richard of the romance asks for a “leche,” meaning either a doctor or a cure, from among the English or “Sarezyn” (3051). While his illness is historically documented, his cure, the act of cannibalism, is not.³³ The Richard of the poem suffers from fever and an insatiable desire for pork, a food considered taboo to his Muslim adversaries and not available in that region. One of his old knights is depicted in the role of a physician, and, unbeknownst to Richard, privately advises the king’s cook:

Takes a Sarezyn zonge and ffat;
 In hast þat þe þeff be slayn,
 Openyd, and hys hyde off ffayn,
 And soden fful hastyly,
 With powdyr, and wiþ spysory,
 And wiþ saffron off good colour . . .
 Whenne [King Richard] has a good tast,
 And eeten weel a good repast, . . .
 þrowz Goddes myzt, and my counsayl,
 Sone he schal be ffresch and hayl.

(3088–102)

Ironically, both the Christian (as physician) and the Saracen (as cure) serve as Richard’s “leche.” Richard eats the human meat, believing it is pork, and delights in it: “He eete ffastere þan he karue myzte. / þe kyng eet þe fflesch, and gnew þe bones” (3110–11). The cure is a success: the next day, the Saracen host are so devastated by his strength in battle that they flee: “Whenne the Sawdon sey3 hym so strong, / He sayde þe deuyl was hem among” (3165–6). When Richard discovers the true nature of the meat he has eaten, he laughs and recommends it to his soldiers:

Whyl we may in any assawte
 Slee Sarezynes, þe flesch mowe take,
 Seþen, and roste hem, and doo hem bake,
 Gnawen here fflesch to þe bones.
 Now i haue it prouyd ones,
 Ffor hungyr ar i be woo,
 I and my ffolk schole eete moo!

(3220–6)

Through consumption of Saracen flesh, Richard takes strength from the bodies of his adversary. This eating, with its parallels to the consumption of Christ’s body in the eucharist, is a parody of the ritual

enactment of that meal.³⁴ Here, Richard consumes Muslim bodies in order to intimidate the survivors. The nutritive value, while important, is secondary to this aim. In contrast, many medieval tracts on the eucharist focus on spiritual reward, rather than the physical need of its participants for food or desire to intimidate others.

The immediate physical rewards of Richard's eating are obvious, for once he is empowered by this food, he slaughters more Saracens in the field than ever before. However, since the eucharist itself was believed to give spiritual benefits to the communicant, one must also ask whether Richard's "eucharist" likewise conferred on him some spiritual power. In fact, the more Richard eats, the more "devilish" he becomes, as he takes on the traits of those whom he consumes.³⁵ Thus if he assimilates anything at all of his non-Christian adversaries, it is their "diabolical" might in battle. Richard's eating is significant in yet more ways that relate to the eucharist, for, in contrast to the sacraments, Muslim flesh is portrayed as destructible, and Richard hopes that he might one day consume his Islamic adversary, every last one:

þer is no fflesch so norýsschaunt
 Vnto an Ynglyssche Cristen-man,
 Partryck, plouer, heroun, ne swan,
 Cow ne oxe, schein ne swyn,
 As is þe flesshe of a Sarezyn:
 þere he is ffat, and þerto tendre,
 And my men are lene and sclendre.
 . . . Into Yngelond wol we nouȝ gon,
 Tyl þay be eeten euerylkon.

(3548–62)³⁶

The so-called Saracen bodies are finite, in contrast to the body of Christ which, in medieval eucharistic theology, was considered a renewable source, spiritually nourishing and obtainable as long as the priests could produce it upon the altar. Moreover, if medieval Christians considered themselves, as the Apostle Paul instructed, as a collective, mystical body of Christ,³⁷ then the Muslims together may have been viewed as comprising a mystified body of faith. Yet the mystical body of Islam is here portrayed as a fragmented, non-renewable body, representing a parody of Christian wholeness. Thus, if Richard eats of this non-Christian body, it would not be thought to contain the same regenerative properties of the Christian body: the Muslim collective would have been perceived as weak, and therefore susceptible to the destruction of Richard's digestion. Further, this assimilation is shown to be a specifically

English act, for in this poem only Richard is shown to cannibalize the Muslims; in fact, in the quotation above, he depicts the so-called Saracen body as a peculiarly English delicacy.

Not surprisingly, the attempt to assess just what Richard assimilates and what he rejects from his enemies' bodies often defies recently crafted theoretical paradigms. Addressing anthropophagy in general, social scientist Hans Askenasy organizes several types of cannibalism under specific categorizations such as hunger or various displays of power. By using the anthropological foci of endophagy (consuming from within one's group to absorb the subject's essence) and exophagy (eating from without one's group to destroy the subject's essence), Askenasy narrows the discursive field to acts that are done to assimilate the might of one's neighbor or adversary, to show love for a group member, to intimidate outsiders, and for other related motivations.³⁸ It is recognizably difficult to locate Richard's eating under only one of these anthropological rubrics; the English king does indeed seem to benefit exceedingly from consuming his adversary. In the first instance, he is healed and goes on to enact feats of war and terrorism on an elevated level. The next time he eats, Richard exerts control over his adversary since his intimidating meal of the noble Saracen sons' heads sends a message of ruthlessness to his enemies. By all accounts, consuming the Saracen is a boon to Richard, and yet the risks, such as perceived Muslim defilement, that accompany this act would seem to have outweighed the benefits such as unnatural strength. One is bound to ask how the polluting effects associated with the Muslim inhabitation of the Holy Land did or did not adversely affect Richard's body and soul. Depictions of medieval cannibalism acknowledged this possibility of transference, and such representations of anthropophagy were often instrumental in establishing what Heng calls the "malignant otherness of cultural enemies and outcasts . . . [w]itches, Jews, savages, Orientals, and pagans are conceivable as – indeed, must be – cannibals."³⁹ By performing such acts, Richard should have located himself outside of acceptable religious and cultural norms not only because of the transgressions, but also because of the perceived "self-inflicted contamination" from consuming Muslim bodies.⁴⁰

However, the question remains as to whether crusading cannibalism, usually performed in exigent circumstances done for survival, would have received the same level of censure as anthropagic acts that were not need-based. Heng has argued convincingly that Christian communities suffered collective embarrassment on behalf of their hungry crusaders, and she considers the *Richard* romance as a means to heal the rifts caused

by the transgressive eating. Possible objections to Heng's thesis that members of the Christian community indeed viewed earlier crusader cannibalism as a liability are those texts which seem to celebrate it. Both twelfth-century vernacular poems *La Chanson d'Antioche* and *La Conquête de Jérusalem* show the gleeful cannibalism by Christians of the Saracen Other; moreover, the acts and actors are praised for their benefit to the Christian cause.⁴¹ Historical figure Godfrey of Bouillon is even said to have bestowed the gift of a bottle of wine to accompany the feasters' meal.⁴² The eaters, however, are said to belong to a marked social category called the Tafurs, and are therefore already marginalized members of the Christian crusading community, set apart by poverty and probably class; contemporary medieval writers therefore imply that this group's willingness to perform cannibalism is linked to their low social position. Likewise, medieval responses to crusader cannibalism do suggest the extent of the embarrassment that such acts brought to other Christians.⁴³ In response, Heng's useful work demonstrates how the fiction of Richard's eating might be interpreted as an elaborate joke deployed in popular romance in order to make light of historical crusader cannibalism; through this strategy, the crusading past is brought back into the acceptable margins of cultural and religious activity.⁴⁴ While Heng and I both acknowledge the place of crusading history in defining Richard's character, my study does not focus on the jesting aspects of his eating, but rather explores another approach: that Richard's piety is increased by his acts of anthropophagy, and that his cannibalism, seemingly paradoxically, is situated in the romance to make him a superior candidate for inheritance of Jerusalem. Regarding Richard, then, English audiences would have rejoiced at his fictive meals and the power that they symbolized.

As alluded to above, Richard's associations with Muslim bodies convey eucharistic overtones that call into question his role in the bloody feasts; indeed, one might propose that his ability to avoid pollution from the Saracen bodies is nothing short of miraculous. Akbari, Ambrisco, Heng, Caroline Walker Bynum, Nicola McDonald, Merrall Llewelyn Price, and others have situated medieval cannibalism within the culture of eating, pointing to medieval societies as very conscious of the various discourses surrounding food, not the least its sacramental associations.⁴⁵ *Corpus Christi*, the body of Christ, was a phrase that occupied several valences in the medieval period, ranging from a collective community of Christians (as noted earlier), to the historical body of Christ, to the mystical body believed present in the eucharist.⁴⁶ The poem's instances of metaphorical

slippage allow for a neat logic to occur here, for as the Muslim adversary is a threat to the body of Christ (represented both by crusaders, collectively, and by king, individually), Richard, in turn, destroys their actual bodies. As has been shown, Richard's full mastery of the Saracen body, collectively and singly, is seen in the process of digestion, as he reduces them to energy which revives his crusade.

How, then, does Richard absorb Muslim might but not their supposed depravity? In the romance, the solution of feeding Richard the Saracen flesh is seen as the "work of Christ" (3066), not a diabolical act as one might assume. As mentioned above, only Richard is shown eating Saracen bodies. He eats first unknowingly, and for his own sake, then on behalf of his people in order to strengthen his authority and his followers' communal solidarity under his direction. Richard's connections to the divine set him apart from his men, and he consumes the Muslim body because his men cannot do it without tainting themselves. We as readers, I would propose, are meant to infer that there is something unique about Richard's body. Richard's kingly body appears immune to such defilement, and even seems to transform into divine inspiration the meat he consumes. In this romance his eating consolidates his community, similar in effect to the eucharist, for the result of his anthropophagy in the poem is the consolidation of the English crusaders whom Richard represents. His cannibalism also has destructive effects on Islamic unity – literally, at a corporeal level wherein each Muslim body is destroyed, but also symbolically, as they learn to fear for their lives. Perhaps this cannibalizing moment presents a metaphor of transubstantiation, when the "lowliest of foods" is translated into a sacred substance. Through Richard the potentially polluting Saracen body has the opposite effect: it heals and strengthens the king and unifies his people. In this role, Richard proves God's favor of him: the English king becomes at once mediating priest to Christian crusaders and scourge to his adversaries. That he risks the health of his body and soul to self-inflicted contamination is also important: to his role of king is added that of martyr, priest, and devouring hell mouth.⁴⁷

This argument that Richard's diabolical violence normatively enforces his Christian chivalry and kingship addresses the issue of its egregiousness by contextualizing it within its symbolic valences of unifying power seen in other examples of sacred eating. Richard may also be compared with violent heroes of the *chansons de geste*, such as Roland or William of Orange, who are said to brutalize Saracen adversaries to the betterment of their king, his kingdom, and their own immortal souls. Neither hero,

however, submits himself to the perceived dangers of defilement. However, Richard's cannibalistic exercise may have deeper resonance with conventions of both romance and medieval warfare. As Richard W. Kaeuper recounts, the partitioning of enemy bodies in the service of chivalry is typical of the closely related genres of romance and geste.⁴⁸ Indeed, the bodily decimation of the adversary seems necessary to prove knightly prowess in romance, as Kaeuper's multiple examples show.⁴⁹ However, in their violence, Richard's cannibalistic acts exceed the graphic images of partition conveyed in cloven skulls, thighs, and bodies populating other romances. One might ask, then, whether the *Richard* poet exceeds the bounds of the romance genre or chivalric code by embellishing Richard thus.

In considering the *Richard* romance's close relationship with the related chronicles, and addressing the place of its violence within the genre of romance, it is important to think of the poetic Richard enacting individually what an entire crusading army did corporately: conduct violent destruction. Historically, methods of genocide as they were practiced in medieval warfare did include the contributions of individual knights, but imaginative narratives of chivalry often disregard the essential roles of the footed men, not the knightly class.⁵⁰ As Kaeuper has demonstrated, medieval warfare regularly included arson, the destruction of trees, crops, and cattle, the poisoning of wells, and pillaging of monasteries, churches, temples, and shrines. Those non-nobles who were captured, including peasants and farmers of all sexes and ages, were often tortured, mutilated, and killed; likewise, looting and destruction were inflicted indiscriminately, leaving survivors with little or no means to subsist. Siege warfare, likewise, brought with it horrors of a similar kind; nevertheless, where noncombatants were sometimes spared a face-to-face encounter with their enemy, they often starved to death. Notably, chivalry brought no transformation of these violent practices, nor were knights considered unchivalrous for participating in these behaviors.⁵¹

The poetic Richard, then, in enacting such degradation upon his adversary, is not behaving outside of the code of conduct available to knights and kings. In fact, one might interpret his eating as a veiled substitution for much more gory events that were actually enacted by armies of the Third Crusade but were considered too violent to include in medieval romance. Moreover, it is clear that the poet is not concerned to ameliorate English anxiety over the historical Richard's reputation of ruthlessness; in other instances besides Richard's anthropophagic episodes, the romancer works to increase perceptions of the English

king's potential for violence. One notes, for example, that the poet portrays Richard beheading 60,000 Muslim prisoners at Acre, taking ransom for none; this is a far cry from the English king of the chronicles, who beheads 2,700 and lets others go free.⁵² In this and other instances, the romance demonstrates an identifiable pattern of increasing Richard's capacity for violence, and associating it with a divine will. Relating this practice to the expectations of genre, it is tempting to speculate that the romance writer is not restricted by conventions, but rather experiments with them, interlacing them with selected, violent events that some men did enact during the crusades, thereby authenticating experience in the socially acceptable means of romance, and turning the liability of cannibalism into the ultimate sign of piety.

Richard's cannibalistic acts also function as a trope emphasizing the grueling experience of starvation in siege warfare, highlighting the hunger of the Christian troops. Thus, the Christian victory at the siege of Acre, Richard and Philip's most renowned feat, is shown to be hard won by the very nature of the inhuman means which the romance Richard undertakes to achieve it. Moreover, the poet implies that Richard's willingness to repeat the act of cannibalism is an indicator of how determined he is to defeat his adversary and win the Holy Land. When he takes the captured noble sons of Saracen lords and has their heads served to Saracen messengers, the messengers are certainly intimidated: "What þey were whenne þey seyen, / þe teres ran out off here eyen" (3465–6). From the moment they see Richard gleefully carve into the head and eat it, they believe he has lost all capacity for humane action. They perceive him as a man empowered by evil itself, who will stop at nothing to accomplish his goals: "þey sayden: 'þis is þe deuelys broþir.'" Richard's adversary agrees: "In þis world is non so sterne!" – there is no one as horrifyingly bold as Richard (3484, 3568).

Richard's plan to "consume" every Saracen, including men, women, and children, may also serve euphemistically for a battle plan which the romance Richard enacts. He takes no prisoners and accepts no ransom: every non-Christian he captures, he kills.⁵³ This strategy is introduced after Richard takes Acre, where he commands the earlier mentioned beheading.⁵⁴ Even when he is tempted to have mercy on the prisoners, he hears an angel's voice ordering him: "Spares hem nouzt, behediþ þese!" (3750).⁵⁵ Yet there are seeds in the chronicles of the poet's cannibalistic fantasy: according to the *Itinerarium*, Richard, who had been unwell before this mass execution, regained his health after the beheading. In this chronicle, Richard's good or ill health functions as a barometer of his

ability to overcome his non-Christian adversary, whether by sword (in the chronicle) or through ingestion (in the romance). A medieval audience of the chronicle may have inferred that, because Richard regained his health after the decapitations, then the executions met with divine approval, and God therefore heals him because Richard has served him. As the *Itinerarium* chronicler notes: “The Turks were decapitated . . . In the eyes of God and humanity the Turks certainly deserved their fate because of their destruction of the churches and their slaying of people.”⁵⁶ This quotation suggests that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, ruthlessness against the Muslim adversary was honored and valued; moreover, the sinful enemy was thought to deserve such retribution. Indeed, the same chronicler praises Richard on the amount of carnage that he brings about: “Almost every day that he happened to run into the Turks he would carry back perhaps ten, or twelve, or twenty, or thirty heads of his enemies. He also brought back captives alive, whatever seemed best to him. Never in Christian times were so many Saracens destroyed by one person.”⁵⁷ This representation of Richard’s habits shows that acts of violence against non-Christians were judged by a different means: they were glorified instead of condemned, and violence went hand-in-hand with piety.⁵⁸

Finally, it is also possible that the *Richard*-poet of the later versions took his inspiration for the cannibalism episode directly from the chronicles. What makes this idea more compelling is the *Itinerarium* chronicler’s description of Richard in battle at the siege of Jaffa: here, he describes a Richard whose sword “devours flesh,” just like the Richard of romance is said to do.⁵⁹ Along with this image, *Richard* and the *Itinerarium* share similar vocabulary choices; for instance, in expressing Richard’s strength, the romance calls him a “devil” and “inhuman.” According to the chronicler, Saladin’s soldiers describe Richard as “super-human” and “inhuman.”⁶⁰ An English chronicler, likewise, places Richard’s praises in the mouths of his adversaries, as Richard’s greatness is related to Saladin after the battle at Arsur:

Est praeterea quid maxime mirandum de quodam ex numero eorum. Ipse gentem nostram confundit et destruit. Nunquam talem vidimus, vel ei similem experti sumus. Ipse semper alios praecedit: in omni negotio primus invenitur et praecipus, tanquam miles electus et probatissimus. Ipse est qui nostram mutilat gentem. Ipsi nemo potest resistere, nec quemquam quem apprehenderit a manibus eius eruere. Ipsum appellant suo idiomate “Melech Ricardum.” Tali quidem regi merito terra regenda debetur, qui tanta praeditus virtute potenter

terras sibi subjiicit. Et quid amplius super tam forti viro, tam invincibili, restat agendum?

[Besides, there is something especially amazing about one of them. He throws our people into disorder and destroys them. We have never seen his like nor known anyone similar. He is always at the head of the others; in every engagement he is first and foremost as an elite and most doughty knight should be. It is he who mutilates our people. No one can withstand him, and when he seizes anyone, no one can rescue them from his hands. They call him in their language “*Melech Richard*” {King Richard}. A king like this who is endowed with such great valour and powerfully conquers lands for himself certainly deserves to govern. And what more remains to be done about such a strong and invincible man?]⁶¹

Likewise, in the romance, Richard’s power is portrayed as so well-established that even the sight of his banner strikes fear into the hearts of his adversaries (3986–9, 5229–30). As his campaign progresses, he becomes known among the Saracens for his ruthless ways, and they marvel that he will not take ransom for their lives (4022–5).

In an assessment of Richard’s Christian identity, Ambrisco has suggested that the king’s actions subordinate his piety to a diabolical and militant code, so that “Richard’s place as a Christian knight serves to highlight not his piety but his ferocity.”⁶² I would suggest that Ambrisco’s differentiation of Richard’s character into two opposing sides – piety versus ferocious valor – constitutes an anachronism. Indeed, it is possible that his place as a Christian knight serves to highlight his piety *through* his ferocity.⁶³ As we have seen, medieval English expressions of crusade display a conflation of this piety and brutality wherein one is not subordinate to the other. Thus there is no need to “reconcile Richard’s character with his role as a crusading king,”⁶⁴ because there is nothing to remediate: his violent, even “diabolical,” reactions to his religious adversary make him an ideal, presumably pious, “crusading king.” Likewise, his culturally transgressive acts, including his cannibalism, were meant to portray Richard not as “unchristian,” as Ambrisco suggests, but as *Christianissimus rex*, instead.⁶⁵

THE CONSTRUCTION OF RICHARD’S JERUSALEM RELATION

Exploration of Richard’s cannibalism suggests the fourteenth-century attempt to elevate Richard’s piety and strengthen the power of his kingship; this new mythology would have offered a crusading past about which English audiences could boast. It also would have presented a king with the moral qualifications necessary to win the holy city and to do so

deservingly. As mentioned earlier, ownership of Jerusalem carried with it certain pre-conditions of morality, and Christian ecclesiasts reasoned that the loss of Jerusalem in 1187 had been the result of western Christian sin.⁶⁶ To this end, most manuscripts of the anonymous *Itinerarium* begin with a heading meant to interpret the massacre at Hittin as God's punishment: "the Lord exterminated the people of Syria because of their sins."⁶⁷ Saladin is described as "the rod of [God's] fury," and the Holy Land as crucible of Christian purification.⁶⁸ Through these descriptions, both the twelfth-century loss and the attempted reclamation of the Holy Land are portrayed as the divine plan of God, with the English being those destined as conquerors. Many western Christian writers perceived Richard's initial successes in the Middle East as a sign that God had finished punishing them and the inhabitants of his most holy city. Accordingly, English chroniclers of the Third Crusade report that with Richard's taking up the cross in July 1190, God had sent deliverance to the Christians struggling to besiege Acre:

Nostris igitur diuturno tribulationis igne perfectius excoctis, et gravissimis tentatis, pervenientibus usque ad animam percussionibus, elimatis, respexit Dominus qui non deserit sperantes in se, et doluit super eos, adducens ab extremis finibus terrae fortes auxiliarios, viros insignes, potentes in praelio.

[Then the Lord, who does not abandon those who hope in Him, regarded our people and saw that they had been made perfect by purification in the fire of long tribulation and severe trials which had pierced them to their very souls. Grieving over them, He brought them strong helpers from the farthest ends of the earth, renowned men, powerful in battle.]⁶⁹

Here, the writer implies that Christians in Jerusalem, "cooked" to perfection, have served their penance and deserve God's salvation. The means of their rescue is portrayed as the army gathering "from the ends of the earth," that is, the western Christian troops under Richard. By referring to Jeremiah 5:26–30, the quotation involves the Christian besiegers of Acre as part of an exegetical, biblical plan to "rescue" the Holy Land. The implication that the prophet had foreseen Richard's role builds the perception that God privileged the king by using him in a divine plan for Jerusalem by giving him might on the battlefield, and at table.⁷⁰

The appearance of past mastery over Jerusalem would have been beneficial to those fourteenth- and fifteenth-century English audiences who desired to distinguish themselves from their French neighbors. However, late medieval English writers first had to contend with France's extensive crusading history; French tradition could boast already established ties to

Jerusalem, not simply for France's noticeable role in the First Crusade, but also because many believed that Charlemagne himself had visited the Holy Sepulchre and that the French monarchy held the lion's share of Passion relics.⁷¹ Therefore, the written creation of Richard's desire for close proximity to the holy places of the Passion was important in a comparative context. Richard's hunger for the Holy Land is seen in his cannibalistic acts, but also in the reification of his status as a crusading hero, functioning in competition with then-existing expressions of French heroism. The poet appears self-consciously aware that the England of the past did not have the recorded tradition of comparable martial valor needed to support its fourteenth-century claims to moral and political superiority over France. Accordingly, the writer admits that he is constructing history, citing the lack of romances about English heroes as his motivation to compose the poem. As if he were inspired by the chronicler of the *Itinerarium*, the poet locates Richard among the heroes lauded in England and western Europe as ideals of military prowess: Hector, Achilles, Alexander, and Roland.⁷² The romancer also draws attention to Richard's identity as an English king, and states that his poem will show the deeds of "douȝty knyȝtes off Yngelonde" not to be outdone by those of Roland, Oliver, Alexander, Charlemagne, Hector, and Achilles (9–19, 28): "Kyng Alisaundyr ne Charlemayn, / Hadde neuere swylk a route, / As is þe cyte now aboute!" (7082–4). The idea that Richard's excellence exceeded that of all men, for all time, continued to influence later medieval historians such as Nicholas Trevet, whose *Annales* borrows directly from the *Itinerarium* to describe Richard as a classical and biblical hero.⁷³ Such later medieval sentiment is reflected in the poem, as the new Richard rivals the legendary Christian figures of French history and literature.

THE UNFAVORABLE PORTRAYAL OF PHILIP: QUESTIONING FRENCH KINGSHIP

The depictions of Richard as a triumphant crusading king developed his authority in a fictive past. While the loss of Jerusalem even after the efforts of the Third Crusade would have threatened this influence, the English romance, like some of the chronicles, is quick to blame Philip and his supporters rather than the English king. By degrading Philip's role in the Third Crusade, the poet suggests that crusading power and its concomitant divine favor have passed from the provenance of France, instead enriching England and its line of English kings after Richard I.

To establish Richard's superiority over Philip, competition is evident as to who is the more pious crusading leader. In the romance, an important strategy in defaming Philip is to diminish his adoration of Jerusalem and to eliminate any associations of him with regard to the Holy Sepulchre. While Richard is depicted as the perfect pilgrim, seeking ways to make contact with this holy object, Philip is seen as quite the opposite. When Philip leaves the campaign early, Richard berates him for leaving his "service" to God "undone" (5921–30). Similar sentiments are seen in the histories when Richard describes Philip as a delinquent pilgrim who: "wickedly forsook the plan and vow of his pilgrimage against the will of God, and to his and his kingdom's eternal shame."⁷⁴ Because Philip left the crusade before Jerusalem had been won, Roger of Howden calls Philip's state "imperfecta peregrinatione sua" [with his pilgrimage incomplete].⁷⁵ For this act, Philip would have been in violation of pilgrim customary, civil, and canon laws. The French king's vow was recognized as solemnized, therefore undertaken as a formal, public act. Because he had no papal dispensation to leave the crusade, he was also in violation of the Roman law of votive obligations. Moreover, according to canon law, his act would have been considered a mortal sin.⁷⁶

Various chronicles suggest just how important a king's appearance as a pious Jerusalem pilgrim would have been to fourteenth-century English audiences. Yet, regarding Richard's eventual withdrawal from the Middle East, one could say that, like Philip, he leaves the Holy Land, "with his pilgrimage incomplete," that is, not having captured or even seen Jerusalem. The historical import of Richard's ties to Jerusalem may be inferred from the tension evident in some English chronicles over the fact that Richard never saw the Holy Sepulchre for himself. Even in the "passagium generale," the visit to the Holy Sepulchre was required.⁷⁷ The romance addresses Richard's unfinished pilgrimage by stating that he fulfilled his vow by proxy (5910).⁷⁸ Likewise, some English chroniclers construct various ways to claim that Richard did complete his pilgrimage after all. According to Higden, Richard vicariously fulfills his pilgrimage oath through Hubert, Bishop of Salisbury, who visits the Holy Sepulchre on his behalf and makes a eucharistic offering there.⁷⁹ Also, the fact that the *Itinerarium* chronicler has Richard see Jerusalem from a distance implies that the king does uphold his pilgrim obligations.⁸⁰ Finally, his reputation as "God's own pilgrim" was rewarded when in March 1232, after thirty-three years in purgatory, Richard's soul ascended into heaven, according to Roger of Wendover.⁸¹ Almost seventy years later, St. Edmund of Canterbury reported that he, too, experienced a vision of the king's

ascension.⁸² Such fascination with Richard's soul shows that his reputation as a pious pilgrim and defender of Jerusalem survived in the fourteenth century; moreover, both chronicles and romance suggest that, in spite of historical ambiguity surrounding Richard's attention to his vows, an English audience would have perceived his pilgrimage as successful. Together with his status as a crusading hero, Richard's consideration of Jerusalem as it appears in the poem would have made him seem worthy of taking control of the Holy Land – more to the point, his merit would have been seen to rival that of Philip.

Philip's denial of the importance of the Sepulchre would have implied his lack of feeling for Jerusalem; he therefore would not have been perceived as deserving of winning the city. Yet as the English romance has it, an incomplete pilgrimage is only one of Philip's many sins. He is shown as an impotent ally of the English, for Philip is portrayed as a timid man, ill-suited for his title as king, or even as a knight. This depiction may have stemmed from existing images of the French king available in the chronicles of England. For example, when Philip arrives at Messina, the *Itinerarium* chronicler describes the French king's entry as a disappointment. Instead of sailing in grandly, as the chronicler says is expected of a great king, Philip is "content with only one ship; and as if he was fleeing the sight of men, he took himself secretly into the city's castle harbour."⁸³ For this meek behavior, the crowd jeers at him, thinking him a coward. By comparison, Richard's entrance is an ostentatious event, with innumerable galleys dotting the sea, standards and pennants flying, shields glittering in the sun, war trumpets thundering, and the water boiling from the crewmen's oars. Even Richard himself is decked out on the prow of a ship, appearing somewhat larger than the other men. The chronicler reports that the viewers are convinced by this spectacle that Richard is a good king, saying, "This man is certainly worthy of empire! He deserves to be set over peoples and kingdoms."⁸⁴ Perhaps influenced by these chronicles and a politically motivated desire to elevate Richard's past, the romance refers to him as "þe courour," while Philip is called "ffeynte cowarde" and "fflays faynt wenche."⁸⁵

The romance writer wastes no time in attributing a treacherous nature to Philip. When Richard and he encounter one another at Messina, the kings embrace each other like brothers; however, the poet immediately dispels this familial image by revealing that Philip plans to deceive Richard by setting him against Tancred, another Christian leader. As the poet puts it, "A tresoun þouzte þe Kyng of Fraunce, / To doo Kyng Richard a destauce" (1677–8). Philip subsequently leads Tancred to believe that

Richard is plotting to overthrow him; however, the idea backfires. Instead, as if to further condemn Philip, Tancred's confrontation of Richard suggests that there was an expectation that Christian kings would unite together against the Muslim host, not against one another. As Tancred explains to Richard:

“þou were ffayrere to be a pylgrym,
 Ffor to sloo many a paynym,
 þenne for to greue a Cristene kyng
 þat neuere mysdede þe no þyng!”
 (1723–6)

This quotation suggests that the poet is drawing on the late medieval awareness that the earlier crusades were aimed specifically at non-Christians, unlike the later incursions against other Christians in Byzantium and the Baltic region. Since Tancred is a Christian king explaining that inter-Christian crusading is wrong, Philip, with his plans against Richard, is implicated in committing an offense and acting in an un-Christian manner by enacting very disruptive “tresoun.” Like their leader, the French and regionally related forces serving under Philip are portrayed as too unholy to prevail. Indeed, the French of the poem are shown to take aggressive action against the English; this is seen when the French troops, joining forces with the “Gryffons” – a derogatory term used to designate persons of Greek descent – slay some of the English who are waiting outside Messina.⁸⁶ However, when Richard complains to Philip, the French king mocks him, saying that he is not responsible for “English taylades” (1765–76). Philip, together with the rest of his army, shows animosity toward the English, saying, “Go hom, dogges, with your tayle!” (1830).⁸⁷ As the poet summarizes, “All that daye Kyng Rycharde they trayde” (1834). Thus Richard is shown expending troops and energy protecting himself from the French betrayal rather than fighting the non-Christians in the Holy Land (1845–8).⁸⁸

Similar comparisons occur throughout the poem, as those men whom the poet labels as French are shown to weaken Richard's cause.⁸⁹ When his nephew, Henry of Champagne, fails to secure Jaffa, Richard blames Henry's French descent (5949).⁹⁰ When Henry retreats from the enemy, Richard displays none of the fondness for his nephew that he did earlier in the poem. Instead, he berates him: “Ffy, a debles, vyle coward! / Schal i neuere, be God aboue, / Trustene unto Frenssche-mannes loue!” (6706–8; cf. 3933–44). Here the expected loyalty due to familial bonds is preempted by Henry's national identity as a French man. By placing a

repudiation of Richard's own royal family in the mouth of the poetic king, Richard denies his French ancestry – ties that, for this character, connote cowardice and diabolical behavior. Throughout the romance, the poet characterizes those French who undermine Richard's crusading efforts as loyal to Philip. Thus, the "French" scourges of the poem are those who support the Capetians, that is, they are not the people of Aquitaine and the large region of France which was allied or tributary to Richard under the Angevins. The historical reality of regional identities in the twelfth century differs from the broad "French" identity imposed on these groups in the poem. Nevertheless, the fourteenth-century romance defines these regions as French, and separates Richard from his associations with them.

This type of antagonism toward Richard inflects much of the romance, and further comparisons between the French and English king are brought into sharp relief when the poet represents their leadership styles. The romance offers few ambiguities in classifying morality, and the different approaches each king adopts to organize his army place him in the position of either sinfulness or piety. To further emphasize the differences between Philip and Richard, the poet looks back to exegetical models. As noted earlier, the romancer's portrayal of Richard's administration of the crusade bears devotional resonance with that of Joshua, a general in the Old Testament charged by God with the utter annihilation of his enemies.⁹¹ On the one hand, Joshua is only allowed to give spoils to his troops when his God approves it. Philip, on the other hand, is portrayed like Joshua's Israelite soldier whose greed incurs God's wrath and the subsequent loss of the town of Ai.⁹² Like Joshua, Richard's plan involves the ability to abstain from taking ransom or bribery, and to work instead for the complete annihilation of human life; as he explains to Philip, it is only in this way that they will win Jerusalem together (3823–9). In spite of Richard's hopes, Philip and his men rebel against this policy. In an episode in which the French have a Syrian town at their mercy, the French take ransom and bribes instead of destroying their adversaries (3901). Philip's men move on to the next town, besiege it, and again, take treasure instead of slaying the inhabitants (3923–6). In response, Richard chastises Philip, blaming his weak morality for his decision not to slaughter the adversary:

“Cursyde be he þat þy werk alowe!
þou were weel wurby mawgry to haue,
Sarezynes þat þou woldyst saue;

Ffor to graunte hem lyff ffor mede
 þou dost God a gret ffalshede.
 þou has don us a gret schame,
 þou were wurþy to haue blame.”

(4690–6)

Richard’s authority is clarified here, for by defying the king’s order, Philip is said to do “God,” not Richard, a “ffalshede.” Yet Richard deals differently with Philip than perhaps God would have done: in the Old Testament, the Israelite soldier’s offense of stealing plunder was punished by death. Yet the poetic Richard attempts to morally reform Philip, asking him to curb his vice of covetousness. He advises him, “Bewar, þouz þou gold coueyte,” and to resist deceiving the Christian host lest the entire army “ffalle in peryle” because of Philip’s guile (4791–3). As the poet implies, the English, by throwing in their lot with the French, are placed at a disadvantage.

Richard’s role as Philip’s teacher also would have worked to establish the English king’s superiority. He attempts to cajole Philip to obliterate their adversaries, entreating him: “Be trewe, doo as i þe teche!” (4802). Yet Philip appears favorable to the Saracens to the extent that, at Nineveh, he negotiates with them, thereby allowing many of the town’s valuable leaders and citizens to escape (5423–8). Similarly, in the Christians’ next assault, a fictive siege of Babylon, Richard and Philip finally corner the sultan, with Philip, Richard, Fouke, and Thomas surrounding Babylon on all four sides. The Saracens of the poem do not bother asking the latter three for a truce, for their ruthlessness is known, and the adversaries approach Philip instead (5445–55). As if in stark contrast to Richard who kills and even eats his enemy, Philip is more interested in their assets, and his willingness to negotiate with them is portrayed as a grave sin. Unlike the poetic Richard, the Saracens and Philip are united by the same terms of finance through which they interact freely with one another; such behavior, however, does not seem beneficial to all Christian crusaders. In fact, the French are perceived as so sinful that the poet directly compares them with their Islamic adversary:

Ffrensche men arn arwe and ffeynte,
 And Sarezynys be war, and queynte,
 And off here dedes engynous;
 þe Ffrensche men be couaytous.

(3849–52)

While the French and so-called Saracens differ on superficial levels – one is classified as a group who are weak and cowardly, while the other is described as wary and cunning – both share traits which conflict with medieval Christian expectations of morality. Moreover, through their similarity to the Saracens, the French are differentiated from the English. Unlike the French soldiers who are portrayed as treacherous cowards, the romancer describes the English as brave and strong, “Stowte in armes, and stronge in fighte,” “hardy men, and stronge off boones,” and “Wyse knyghtes douzty off hand.”⁹³ Like Richard, they are described as fierce men who fight like “lyouns” (5108).

The portrayal of Saracen familiarity with Philip makes him subsequently incompatible with Richard; and the English king even states that Philip’s very existence is harmful (5372–7). As for the kings themselves, Philip appears most unlike Richard through the lack of piety with which the romancer characterizes him. He performs no deeds of prowess, such as is seen in Richard’s aggressive cannibalism, nor does he honor his pilgrim vows. As a crusader, Philip fails in the romance, and subsequently becomes the scapegoat for English misfortunes in the Middle East. Blame for English loss of Jerusalem is transferred in the English imaginary of the poem’s audience: it is moved squarely upon the shoulders of the French.

OWNERSHIP OF JERUSALEM: THE TEST AND SIGN OF DIVINE FAVOR

In the romance, Richard’s great distrust of his Continental allies results in his efforts to keep Jerusalem out of French hands. Because of this heightened level of suspicion, the English king finds himself battling on two fronts: against the Christian men loyal to Philip and against the so-called Saracens of Islam. Accordingly, the violently religious Richard is shown to play a protective role over Jerusalem. When the French and English armies turn toward Jerusalem, Philip demands that Richard give him the city, should Richard win it, but the English king replies in no uncertain terms that if it is won, it will be an English holding (5896–903). Because of Philip’s sinful failings depicted earlier in the romance version of the Third Crusade, the Richard of the poem judges the French king and all of France as unworthy heirs of the holy city. He tells Philip that if he wants Jerusalem in the name of France, he must conquer it alone. The poet’s portrayal of this event shows Richard’s stance as a preservative measure in order to keep that city out of the hands of the French – he is, in essence, safeguarding the integrity of a holy relic. To this end, Richard

swears he will not come near the city, and instead sends an offering there to complete his pilgrimage on a symbolic level; that is, his priest goes in his place (5910). The king's strict measures imply that he perceives the French as his adversaries, but his concerns also couch his retreat from the Holy Land in a favorable light: French, not English, culpability drives him from his goal.

With the conflation of Saracen and French characteristics in the poem, the English are depicted as more deserving of Jerusalem and divine favor than their French counterparts. Here, war (specifically, crusade) becomes a productive channel for nationalism since boundaries are made by drawing invidious comparisons between religious communities. The fact that the Richard of the romance is committed to crusading while the Philip of the poem is not shows that the English hoped to view their crusade involvement as superior to that of France; through crusading, both English piety (as seen in their reverence for Jerusalem) and military strength (in battle) are brought to the forefront. The use of these types of measures in the romance assigns crucial differences in religious morality, in this case, those between the French and the English, as intersecting with Christianity and Islam. Here, the French are portrayed as the allies of the Muslims in the romance, and Richard describes his Christian adversary with the crusade rhetoric traditionally reserved for descriptions of the Saracen. By merging the French with their religious adversary, the English poet presents the French people as morally degenerate, able neither to perform adequately in the crusade nor to merit God's favor and win Jerusalem. The equation of the French with carnality and greed situates them not only as unworthy captors of Jerusalem, and worse than Saracens, but may have also implied their situation as undeserving holders of Christian lands in western Europe. In one stroke, the French become infidels undeserving not only of *sancte sepulcher*, but also of vast territories of *douce France*. In the English imaginary, English national identity would therefore be defined by moral right, bravery, and trustworthiness; that of France would attain to the fearful, sinful, and treasonous. Evidence suggests that such interpretations of French culpability did affect fourteenth-century English perceptions of entitlement to their homeland of Jerusalem in the Middle East, but also in lands closer to home.

Regarding Jerusalem itself, the romance depicts the city as Richard's rightful inheritance. King Philip is not the only challenger to this claim, as seen in Richard's fictive interaction with the Sultan of Babylon; in the poem, the Sultan challenges Richard's authority and sends a messenger to him, both to break the siege of Babylon and question English right to that

land. He charges: “Al þat þou werres, it is wiþ wrong. / þou crauyst herytage in þis lande, / And he dos þe weel to vnderstande / þat þou has þerto no ryzt!” (5492–5).⁹⁴ Richard’s view of the Holy Land as his “herytage” is not original to the poem and is also evident in several late medieval English chronicles. However, there is a sense of Richard’s acting as God’s representative on earth: in the romance and chronicles, the Holy Land is referred to as the “hereditas Domini” [God’s inheritance], and it is to be placed under Richard’s dominion, making Richard an intermediary of the divine.⁹⁵ According to the *Itinerarium*, Richard’s claims on Jerusalem relate to his ties to its former Latin rulers, and he therefore demands from Saladin what he views as his own, by “hereditary right.”⁹⁶ Although Richard’s chroniclers traced his entitlement to Jerusalem to the events of the First Crusade, these writers did not consider the ancestral right of the Muslims who had occupied the region since 637 C.E., let alone that of the Jews whose claim predated the Muslims’ by several hundred years. Such disregard for the inheritance of religious Others is also seen in the romance, where Jerusalem is significant to Richard as a city specially honored by Christ alone (5910–12).⁹⁷ The poetic Richard claims his “herytage” by destroying those who already occupy the Holy Land, that is, the Muslims whom he views as his spiritual enemies. Historically, Richard’s claim was traced to his ancestors’ involvement in the First Crusade through his great-grandfather, Fulk, Count of Anjou.⁹⁸ Chronicler Roger of Howden also portrays Richard as rightful heir to Jerusalem because of his ties to Robert of Normandy.⁹⁹ Both chronicles and romance work to establish Richard as Jerusalem’s acknowledged heir in the English imaginary, thereby sacralizing Richard’s kingship as lord of the holiest of cities, and establishing the English as a most Christian people.

The poet suggests that Richard’s status would have been higher had the French not undermined him; he reasons that had Richard stayed longer in the Holy Land, he would have subdued it and become “emperor of the world” (6017–22). This message would have been important for fourteenth-century audiences seeking to differentiate themselves from their French adversaries of the Hundred Years War, granting the English a sense of entitlement superior to French claims of land and crown. During the time of the Third Crusade, from 1189 to 1192, Philip was not the most powerful of the Christian kings; indeed, it was not until 1202 when he invaded Normandy, or by the end of 1216 when he conquered Normandy, Anjou, Brittany, and Poitou, defeated Flanders and the Emperor, and invaded England, that he would have been viewed as the

most mighty of all his Christian peers. With the authority of Richard and Philip fluctuating before 1202, it is no wonder that the chroniclers and romancers depict them as rivals. To a fourteenth- and fifteenth-century English audience, this romance's portrayal of Richard's foiled grasp of Jerusalem and its reputed reward of international power may have reflected and fueled contemporary English resentment against the French. During the middle of the fourteenth century, English hatred of their French neighbors reached a new height as rumors circulated of French treachery, suggesting that they were in league with the Muslim adversary against the English during the Hundred Years War. Likewise, the English clergy were enlisted in the circulation of anti-French propaganda as Edward commanded Franciscan and Augustinian friars to speak out against the French.¹⁰⁰ As John M. Bowers has shown, fourteenth-century popular and clerical discourse demonstrated an English contempt for the French, as illustrated by Higden, Richard of Bury, Laurence Minot – a Yorkshire man who praised Edward III's attack on Philip VI – and Thomas Bradwardine.¹⁰¹ Crane, too, notes anti-French sentiment in later medieval English writing responding to the Crusades, and the loss of Normandy and the Angevin territories.¹⁰² By incorporating English feelings against the French effort into the vocabulary of English devotional thinking about crusade, the poet joins a contemporary practice of anti-French sentiment, and at once strikes out against an enemy at home and abroad. Such comparison shows that, by the late fourteenth century, some English people may have perceived their French adversary to be as repellent as their Islamic one.

Such crusade rhetoric against the Other came to be deployed in the fourteenth century by English historical figures toward the French and Flemings involved in the Hundred Years War; one of these instances is seen in Bishop Henry Despenser's "crusade" of 1383 against the Avignon Pope Clement VII. Late medieval chronicler Thomas Walsingham makes clear the parallels between the French and religious Other similar to those presented in the romance, but takes the trope one step further; in Clement's crusading economy, the killing of a French, Muslim, or Jewish person was believed to earn equal merit from God. Speaking of perceived English superiority over the French, Walsingham rationalizes the English destruction of their adversaries in terms seen in the romance, by identifying the French and Flemish as Other:

causam Dei esse et totius Ecclesiae, quam tuendam susceperant, . . . martyres futuros, quotquot discedere contingeret in hac causa. Quapropter rogant, hortantur, adjuvant, ut, omni meto deposito, hostes Crucis invadant, non minus

recepturi meritum de dictorum canum mortibus, quam si tot de gente Judaica vel Saracenicā peremissent.

[it is the cause of God and of all the Church, which they had taken up to protect, . . . many of them were about to be martyrs, however many should happen to die in this cause. For this reason, they ask, they exhort, they adjure, that with every fear set aside, those who invade the enemies of Christ are about to receive no less merit from the deaths of the aforesaid dogs, than if they had killed as many of the Jewish or Saracen people.]¹⁰³

Here in this passage, use of crusade rhetoric resonant with Richard's romance has come to be used against other Christians as the French and Flemish Christian adversaries serve as "dogs" and Others, deserving divinely sanctioned destruction.¹⁰⁴ In this case, English Christians have the convenience of slaughtering the "Muslim" or "Jewish" adversary in a locale closer to home: they can earn salvation just across the channel. While the Richard of romance never declares war on the French, the poet makes it clear that Richard's adversaries require God's stern judgment. In the romance, Philip and his soldiers are represented as morally weak and reprehensible. Likewise, in the events of the Hundred Years War and its related Papal Schism, Walsingham writes that English destruction of French Christians is condoned since these adversaries are guilty of "rapes, slaughters, . . . other evils, and destruction and criminal acts."¹⁰⁵ This rationale follows exactly that used against the Saracen in the romance. Unlike the Franco-English interaction in the poem, however, there is no hope of reform here; Walsingham's work signals a transference of feelings against Muslim and Jewish adversaries onto Christians in France. The ideas about the Christian Other shown in the poem therefore reflected, and perhaps justified, a trend in English thinking about the French. By creating a tradition of French immorality, the fourteenth-century poet supports English intentions to "gobble up" French lands, claim heritage, and destroy their peoples, just as Richard did to the Muslims. In thinking about the poem's relation to national identity, the extension of the cleavage it proposes is made clear in the crusading references later adopted into writing about the Hundred Years War.

JERUSALEM AND FRANCE AS ENGLISH INHERITANCE

As fourteenth-century English audiences looked back on the English historiography and poetry relating the French contributions to the Third Crusade, they would have perceived a justified split between English and French goals and religious identity. This religious identity, so important

in expressions of medieval nationhood, came into question as the English warred against their own Christian neighbors.¹⁰⁶ Taking the romance's concern over entitlement into consideration, I would suggest that the poem positions itself to relieve any English unease at slaying their fellow Christians. Indeed, the poem provides a basis for inter-Christian warfare, as the French are given truly reprobate qualities. Like the Sultan, whom Richard refers to as "ffeend" and "coward," the French, too, are thought to be depraved when they act against Richard. Those who threaten Richard's inheritance receive insults similar to those delivered to the Sultan, for Richard even calls his brother, John, "the fendes fflesch and bon" when John attempts to depose him (6336). Though references to the Hundred Years War between France and England are not made explicitly in the poem, I would propose that the portrayal of French deceit and cowardice in the Third Crusade, ultimately leading to the English loss of Jerusalem, was also meant to encourage its audience's support of the Anglo-French war. This romance would have upheld a fourteenth-century English view that the French were not only unworthy allies of England, but also enemies of God. Like Bradwardine's sermons which encouraged the war by teaching that the French were defeated at Crécy because of low French moral standards, the romance appears to operate with the same aim in mind.¹⁰⁷

In the romance, Richard's identity as a national hero is strongly linked with the depiction of him as a religious man and worthy king of Jerusalem. Through images of Richard's violence in cannibalizing his adversary, the romancer strengthens the historical Richard's authority by having him perform an act which no other king dared to do. His anthropophagic activities create a unique division between Richard and Philip, defining each king by how violently he behaves on behalf of his community, how abhorrent he is of Islam, and how certain he is of God's will. The poet implies that Richard is enabled to cannibalize the Muslim body through God's favor. Further, through this eating, he absorbs Muslim military skill, but not the heretical doctrine traditionally associated with Islam. The English king's ability to come into contact with his Muslim adversary without compromising his soul (as Philip was shown to do) sets Richard apart from other European leaders and strengthens his portrayal as an almost supernatural hero with a divine connection to God. Likewise, he is set apart as the rightful owner of Jerusalem, making a counter-claim to the existing French mythologies as God's "chosen people." Through Richard's relationship to this holy city,

and the textual invention of his divine right to it, his reputation (and, by extension, that of the English) exceeds that of the French.

While many scholars have noted the importance of idealizing Richard as an English (and not French) leader, few have commented on the importance of his portrayal as a crusader with direct ties to Jerusalem. By establishing a specifically English role in the religious wars and by creating a claim to Jerusalem, the anonymous author of the *Richard* romance more firmly situated English history in a way that served the present. This project of simultaneously erasing the past while relying on creative revisions of it to substantiate authority in the present is seen in the romance when Muslim and French claims to the Holy Land are contested on the grounds of their morality. In place of the French and Muslims, a new, ecclesiastical English Richard is portrayed as a worthy keeper of the holy domain. The endowment of the crusading Richard with identifiably English interests is an alternative past to his lay Anglo-Norman origin; by making the twelfth-century Richard thoroughly English and thoroughly dedicated to his God, fourteenth-century English audiences found the authority and rationale on which to base their contemporary crusading efforts and their claims to the Holy Land. The chapter presented here therefore agrees with those scholars such as Ambrisco, Akbari, Heng, and Turville-Petre who view this romance as expressive of English national identity. While Turville-Petre goes on to suggest the poem's place in encouraging crusade in the Middle East, however, I propose that the romancer has in mind a crusade of a different kind, enacted between Christian neighbors in the Hundred Years War. By portraying the historical Richard as at once the most violent and the most pious crusading pilgrim, the poet justifies English claims to Jerusalem and parts of France as their literal and figurative inheritance, willed to them through the mediation of their own "most Christian king."

The crusade of the soul in The Siege of Jerusalem

Like *Richard, Coer de Lyon*, the Middle English romance, *The Siege of Jerusalem*, positions the control of the holy city as an expression of earthly power and as irrefutable proof of divine favor.¹ However, while both late medieval texts seem to agree on the associative might that this city confers, the poetic *Siege of Jerusalem* (*Siege*, hereafter) depicts a destructible Jerusalem that may be divested of its powers. In the poem, Jerusalem is no longer both relic and reliquary, it is rather, as Christine Chism has described it, a “town-sized treasure chest” to be ransacked, with its symbols of sacred identity, such as the Veil of Veronica and the Temple Menorah, stolen away, piece by piece.² Through this and other portrayals, the anonymous writer of the *Siege* presents the reader with a city whose sacred essence is transferable, thereby representing a different version of the many Jerusalems that existed in the late medieval English imaginary. Adding to the perceptions of the holy city as spiritual testing ground and mnemonic device, as seen in the pilgrim texts, or as symbol of authority and divine support, as seen in the *Richard* romance, the *Siege* offers Jerusalem both perishable and transcendent, and both literal and exegetical. The actual city of the poem is destroyed by the Romans, referencing a very real event in Jerusalem’s history, but also suggesting that city’s place in a continuous cycle of destruction and rebirth. I would propose that interpretative models then circulating in medieval England allowed the poem’s audiences to participate, figuratively, in this cycle.

Questions over the role of the Christian community underlie much of the *Siege*; for the poem’s audience, this is a specifically English group. As discussed in the [previous chapter](#), exigencies of the Hundred Years War situate an English desire for moral purity as one textual strategy used in distinguishing the English from the French, and for designating the English as deserving of God’s favor. The works in this study are part of

such cultural ethos, and I would therefore suggest that the *Siege*, while it may not set out to justify war with France, does present its audience with devotional models of suffering and purification at collective and individual levels. The provenance of the *Siege* places its appearance during a time and place where militaristic portrayals of devotion may have held a high appeal. Ralph Hanna III and David Lawton have established that the poem, dated to the late fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries, originates from the West Riding of Yorkshire, and argue for a monastic authorship from Bolton Priory – situated in an area with marked Lancastrian affinities and ties to the Hundred Years War.³ Moreover, the poem's bellicose scenes must have been appealing in more areas than northern England, for manuscript evidence shows its wide dispersal and popularity in late medieval England, with more manuscripts now extant than any other medieval alliterative poem except *Piers Plowman*.⁴

The *Siege* is a violent poem, replete with anti-Judaism, yet it is also this same violence against the Jews and the city of Jerusalem which, in a medieval context, would have situated the romance as a devotional piece, apt for reflection on the moral state of the soul. As I will show, medieval Christian identification of the soul with Jerusalem and its first-century Jews offered an interpretative model which would have built individual and group piety, strengthening English *communitas* from the self to society at large. Likewise, such spiritual metaphors held other currencies, not only as Jerusalem the soul, but also as Jerusalem the celestial – representing a place to affectively “conquer,” thereby securing one's own salvation. Crusade of this kind would be practicable by all English people of indiscriminate sex, age, or status; as long as they had access to poems such as the *Siege*, English audiences could affectively enact a battle for their own souls in much the same way that they envisioned the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

RELIGIOUS IDENTITY IN THE *SIEGE*: PORTRAYING
JEWS AND ROMANS CREATIVELY

As seen in accounts produced by medieval Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem, the depictions of the holy city's occupants are crucial to the portrayal of Christian devotion. Like the pilgrim writers' renderings of the Islamic Other, the Jewish Other seen in the *Siege* is both rejected and consolidated within the text by means of biblical exegesis. The poem represents the Jewish Other as a people who challenge Christian

superiority, much as the Muslim Other of the pilgrim narratives is seen to do. Unlike the Islamic types depicted in the pilgrim writing, however, the Jews of the poem represent a people with whom many Christian audiences could identify closely, and to whom they were traditionally encouraged to liken themselves in other, very specific contexts. This placement of the Jews necessarily affects the dual depictions of Jerusalem as a city to be conquered and as a place to be protected from within. As I will discuss, exegetical interpretations of Jerusalem could support both seemingly exclusive readings, and therefore their instantiations in the poem should be explored further, as I am doing here. Because of the inextricable nature of the historical and scriptural relationship between Jerusalem and its Jewish inhabitants, and in the way that medieval Christians seemed to acknowledge this association, the poem demonstrates how first-century Jews are drawn through time into a crusading discourse influencing late medieval Christian expressions of devotion toward that city.

Much valuable work has already been done regarding medieval portrayals of Jewish identity, and there is certainly more to do. Of those assessments, some have explored typological approaches; for example, almost seventy years ago, the role of the Jews came into question in the Croxton *Play of the Sacrament*,⁵ as Cecilia Cutts suggested a metaphorical reading of the play's textual characterization: she argued that the historical figures of the Croxton Jews, in rejecting Christianity, were portrayed in such a way as to represent a different group which deliberately excluded itself from orthodox Christianity – that is, the Lollards.⁶ Alternatively, Steven Kruger has shown that the Croxton Jewish characters of the drama are representative of the specifically Jewish body, and his reassessment links corruptions of that body to Christian bodily miracles.⁷ In interrogating the role of Jewish identity, Sheila Delany has suggested that the Jews continued to influence English writers with their paradoxical “absent presence” as textual, theological, and visual representations of Jews continued long after their expulsion from England in 1290.⁸ Similarly, with regard to the *Siege*, critics vary in their assessment of Jewish identity. Among these, Mary Hamel has suggested that the Jews portrayed in the *Siege* represent a homogenized group of Jews, Saracens, and heretics.⁹ While Hamel has articulated a non-literal characterization of the Jews, Hanna and Elisa Narin van Court have argued that the role of the Jews portrayed in the *Siege* occupies a position particular to medieval Jewish people; in other words, the Jews represented in the poem are not necessarily a metonym for a monolithic group of Saracens and heretics.

To this end, Hanna has suggested in a more recent article that the Jews of the poetic *Siege* represent not the first-century group slaughtered at Jerusalem, but those killed in the Yorkshire massacre in 1190.¹⁰ Like Hanna, Narin van Court argues that medieval Jews are central to the poem, and she explains that their role is meant to “balance” that of the Christians in the text.¹¹ In these critiques of the *Siege*, two strands of thought regarding Jewish identity emerge: that of the literal, historical reading suggested by Hanna and Narin van Court, and the non-literal, typological reading put forward by Hamel and others.

Although much has been done to address the role of the Jews in the text, comparatively little has been done to explain that of the Romans. Building upon the work of Suzanne Conklin Akbari, who argues that Jewish identity in the *Siege* is variable, designating both (*in bono*) Christian identity and (*in malo*) Muslim identity, I will show that the Romans are characterized in variable ways.¹² Through an examination of medieval Christian exegetes, the Romans are revealed as both depraved persecutors of the faithful and victorious warriors for Christ. As the roles of Romans and Jews are renegotiated in the poem, so, too, is the place of Jerusalem reinvented. The *Siege* fits loosely within the genre of crusade literature, as Hamel has shown; however, if one acknowledges the portrayal of the Jews which stems from the Augustinian tradition, together with the depiction of the Romans from the exegetical tradition, the work becomes much more than the crusading poem Hamel suggests. Rather, it becomes technology for the medieval audience in the exercise of meditation on the holy city and on the state of the auditor’s own soul. In investigating the historical siege of Jerusalem’s background in the exegetical and historical traditions, I will examine the writings of Josephus, Joachim of Fiore, Ralph of Coggeshall, and Ranulf Higden in order to show how, in England, the idea of Rome (as seen in both Rome the city and the Church) was shifting its cultural valence. Before turning to assess the poem’s symbolic interpretations, however, I will outline the depiction of the Romans in the poem and consider what a literal interpretation of their role reveals.

ROME: TOWARD A LITERAL READING OF THE *SIEGE*

Certainly there is room for a literal reading of the Romans, although the cultural fiction of their Christianity makes it unlikely that they represent any Roman group antedating Constantine’s recognition of Christianity as the official religion of the empire. Moreover, the fictitious element

introduced through the chivalric framework in which they act removes the Romans of the poem one step further from actual Romans, for the courtly tropes enacted by the romance's soldiers did not exist until long after the fall of Rome. One is left, then, with a kind of character composite derived from Christian narrative and medieval romance. In order to examine the warriors in the poem as specifically Roman, that is, not as a typological substitution for any other group, one must consider them as an entity constructed by an English author to create a fictitious historical past. Thus, in the *Siege*, Rome's cultural identity is reassigned and Christianized over two hundred years prior to the actual acceptance of the Christian religion in Rome. According to the poem, Vespasian, along with his sons, converts to Christianity and vows to avenge the death of Christ by besieging Jerusalem: "Cytees vnder S[yo]ne, now is 3our sorow vppe: / þe deþ of dereworþ Crist dere schal be zolden" (299–300, *cf.* 348). Though the campaign is initially organized by Nero as a means to secure tribute from the holy city, Titus and Vespasian are said to lend their leadership to accomplish Christian ends. Along with Christianizing the ancient rulership of Rome, the poem asserts Rome's place as a holy city – an assertion which would have interested English supporters of Urban VI. In this case, the audience sees the character Pope Peter in action, preaching to the Romans, interacting with the Emperor, and handling holy relics (205, 224–30). Though all of these events are fictitious, they add to the sense that the Roman Papacy, not Avignon, was directly linked to the presence of Peter at the cultural height of the Roman Empire.

The *Siege* also adds to the religious significance of Rome by establishing the Vernicle, also known as the Veil of Veronica, as an authentic Roman relic (235–64). The Veil was an "image relic," in this case it was a cloth thought to bear on its surface the imprint of Christ's face. The romance and some of its sources situate the Veil as an object with specific ties to Jerusalem. Apart from the legends surrounding the relic, however, historical sources do not mention the existence of the Veil or its location until the twelfth century, when Celestine III placed it on public display in Rome, and later, when Innocent III introduced a prayer and award of indulgence associated with the image.¹³ At the time of the romance's distribution, the Veil of Veronica was one of the most popular relics in Rome, for it was said to have the power to heal. In the poem, too, the Veil is described as having restorative powers:¹⁴

þer is no gome [o]n þis [grounde] þat is grym wounded,
Meselry ne meschef ne man vpon erþe,

þat kneleþ down to þat cloþ and on Crist leueþ,
 Bot alle hapneþ to hele in [an] handwhyle.

(169–72)

In the poetic *Siege*, the importance of Rome as the spiritual center of western Christendom is attached to powers of the Veil. Clearly the relic is of great importance; it is received in the papal city with a noble procession just as if it were Christ himself. Likewise, Peter kneels and weeps before it (222–30). It shatters pagan idols with its mere presence, exuding light and a sweet odor (239–44). Finally, it heals Vespasian who has been suffering from an infestation of wasps in his nose. After performing these miracles, the Veil is identified as a specifically Roman relic (264).

Through Veronica's Veil and other relics from Jerusalem, the poem shows a Rome enriched by its spoils from the Holy Land; even the fixtures of the Temple, the religious center of Jerusalem, are packed up and moved to Rome, leaving nothing of the Temple behind. This imaginary history created by the *Siege* thus provides an authenticating narrative for Rome's title as spiritual capital of Christianity. In contrast to enriched Rome, Jerusalem is left bare of its relics, wallowing in spiritual poverty. Through the Christianization of the early Romans, the poet relocates Christian genealogy, moving it from the east to the west. Throughout the narrative, the poet's revision implies that nascent Christianity grew up in Rome, not Jerusalem. Readers witness the utter obliteration of the Holy Land as all of its spiritual and material riches are taken away to Rome, just as the early roots of Christianity are pulled from Palestine and spirited to Italy via the written word.¹⁵ Even the sudarium of Veronica, taken from Jerusalem to Rome in the early stages of the poem, foreshadows the imminent mass pillaging of such treasures, as the relics of Jerusalem are appropriated for Christian worship in Rome.

The portrayal of the Romans as western European, courtly knights makes ancient Rome suddenly familiar. Moreover, by providing courtly detail which is purely anachronistic, the poet portrays the soldiers as a monolithic, western Christian force, described using the rhetoric of crusade romance. Even Titus is depicted in a chivalric fashion: he addresses God as "corteys Crist," and vows to avenge him according to the rules of courtly conduct (181). The *Siege* poet renders his Romans with characteristics that would have had special resonance for an audience who had participated in campaigns in the Holy Land or France, or, by the same token, who were being actively recruited to do so. To this end, the poem shows a mix of chivalric and devotional images which would

have been used to entertain and attract an audience to support the initiatives. Even the poem's links to Bolton Priory, a hotbed of Lancastrian activity, suggest the very practical nature of the poem as a possible recruitment piece.¹⁶ The strained political climate and financial difficulties which England experienced in defending its borders and waging war in France suggest that, if the poem was indeed commissioned for crusade recruitment, it needed to present incentives for expending money and men which were already in short supply.¹⁷ Pro-crusade propaganda poured into England from western Europe, including Philippe de Mézières' *Epistre* of 1395 to Richard II, in which he encourages the English king toward taking the cross; although he speaks on behalf of the French, he describes the Holy Land as Richard's *propre heritage*, purchased with Christ's Passion.¹⁸ Significantly, Philippe exhorts Richard to "remember Titus, son of Vespasian, Emperor of Rome," and take up crusading in the Holy Land.¹⁹ The textual use of the historical siege of Jerusalem was a common metaphor for crusader activity, as it is here employed to encourage the fourteenth-century English and French people in their foreign wars.²⁰ Through the poem, the English who supported the campaigns abroad could have viewed themselves as akin to the Romans of the poem who, portrayed as valiant knights, slay thousands of Jews in the morning and go hunting and hawking in the afternoon.²¹

Whether focused on English participation in the later crusades or, possibly, in France, interpretations of the historical siege of Jerusalem were changing in ways that must have affected late medieval English reception of the poem. As military propaganda, chivalric trappings and devotional images are used to inspire military support and, possibly, recruitment; accordingly, the poet presents a spectacle:

pan was rotlyng in Rome, robberyng of brynnynis,
 Schewyng of scharpe, scheldes ydressed . . .
 þer wer floynes aflot, farcostes many,
 Cogges & crayers ycasteled alle;
 Galees of grete streyngþe with golden fanes,
 [B]ra[y]d on þe brod se aboute foure myle.
 (281–2, 289–92)

Likewise, siege warfare, popular both in the Holy Land and during the war in France, is explicitly described as Titus and Vespasian set a siege around Jerusalem and prepare for the next assault:

Byfor þe foure zates he formes to lenge
 Sixt[i] þousand by somme while þe sege lasteþ;

Sette ward on þe walles þat noȝt away scaped,
 Sixe þousand in sercle þe cite alle aboute.
 Was noȝt while þe nyȝt laste bot nehyng of stedis,
 Strogyng in stele wede and stuffyng of helmes.

(421–6)

Once the siege has been established around the holy city and subsequent efforts to take it in battle have failed, Titus outlines the passive strategy of starvation to his generals:

We scholde with [hunger] hem honte to hoke out of toun
 [Without weme or wounde or any wo elles.]
 For þer as fayleþ þe fode þer is feynt strengþe,
 And þer as hunger is hote, hertes ben feble.

(879–82)

Such experience with sieges would have been familiar to an audience who had recently fought in France or the many other fronts of the Hundred Years War, been on crusade, or who had ancestors who did so. In the poet's depictions of Jewish and Roman skirmishes, the terrifying sounds of battle spring from the page with the repetition of hard consonants and lively detail:

Bemes blowen anon blonkes to neȝe,
 Stedis stampen in þe [st]ede st[uf]f[ed] steil vndere,
 Stiþe men in stiropys striden alofte;
 Knyȝtes crosen hemself, cacchen her helmys.
 With loude clarioun cry and [with cormous] pypys,
 Tymbris & tabourris tonelande loude,
 ȝeuen a sch[r]i[k]ande schout; schrynken þe Jewes.

(525–31)

The tumultuous noise of battle preparations shows a boisterous Christian host, poised to strike its adversaries. Alongside noisy soldiers and animals, the cacophony represented here would have been made by a variety of instruments, some to organize troops, others with the sole aim of instilling fear into the enemy.

Accompanying these realistic descriptions of warfare, some fictitious elements are introduced with the chivalric depictions of the battle. The chivalric imagery in the poem presents a romanticized view of combat, where God's favor rests on the side of the Romans whose force is all-powerful. As the narrator explains, "So Crist his knyȝtes gan kepe tille complyn tyme. / An hundred þousand helmes of þe heþen syde / Were fey fallen in þe felde" (612–14). Here, Christ is said to offer his followers potency in battle against a "heathen" army. The poet's depictions of

the siege also represent a glamorous image of war where the Romans are portrayed as knights of romance who spend much of their time in the noble pursuits of holding tournaments and resting in lavish pavilions. Indeed, they are shown to be so successful in battle that Vespasian gives them plenty of leisure time to pursue their own entertainments. After Vespasian sets a watch around the town, he encourages his knights to play:

“For we wol huntun at þe hart þis heþes aboute . . .
 Ride to þe reuer and rere vp þe foules,
 Se faucouns fle, fele of þe beste –
 Ech segge to þe solas, þat hym-self lyke[þ].”
 Princes out of paelouns presen on stedes,
 Torn[ei]en, trifflyn and on þe toun wayten.

(889–95)

As Lawton has shown, these courtly images serve to signify the Christian conversion of Rome.²² The scene seems to detach the depiction of the Christian army from its Roman identity only to connect it to a specifically western European textual mode. With their fantastic courtly adventures on the battlefield, and their hauls of military *praeda*, the characterization of the Romans as crusading knights of medieval romance would have allowed late medieval Christian readers to experience a feeling of spiritual and temporal kinship with those responsible for the fall of the Temple, in fulfilling scriptural prophecy as they themselves went out on crusade.

Such chivalric identification with the Romans was also encouraged by the poet's use of religious tropes. For instance, by placing a ten-line Passion sequence at the beginning of the piece, the poet uses the Passion as a lens through which the audience views the events that follow, for the suffering of the Jews is thus foreshadowed by the suffering of Christ. Likewise, when Vespasian encourages his troops before battle, he exhorts them to remember the Passion, urging his men to be merciless against their adversary, and reminding them that the Jews took no mercy on Christ (501–4). These exhortations imply that the Roman troops, like their leaders, have converted to Christianity and are motivated by their faith to the same degree that their generals are. Vespasian's motives are explicitly connected with his Christian faith; long before he is crowned Emperor, he is described as, “þis comelich kyng þat for Crist werreþ” (954). Not only is Vespasian portrayed as commissioned by Christ for a “crusade” against Jerusalem, but also the general is shown to have taken up that crusader vow; thus he is loath to leave Jerusalem to take up his post in Rome for fear of breaking this promise: “For I haue heylych heyzt here forto lenge / Tille I þis toured [t]oun ha[ue] taken at [my]

wille / And me þe zates ben zet and zolden þe keyes" (977–9). In order to fulfill this "oath" to heaven, one of his generals, Sir Sabyn, suggests that Vespasian let Titus and Domitian complete the siege in Vespasian's place. Sabyn's advice is orthodox, for crusaders were allowed to perform the crusader vow on behalf of another; he says that whatever Vespasian's army accomplishes, they do in his name: "So may þ[e] couenaunt be kept þat þou to Crist made: / þyself dest þat þy soudiours by þyn assent worchen" (999–1000). Thus, the future Emperor is shown to be an obedient Christian, who, upon leaving Jerusalem to take his crown in Rome, prays for God's blessing (1023).

Titus is also portrayed as a Christian prince, and the poet shows him desiring Christian baptism immediately after his conversion at the beginning of the poem:

"Telle me tit," quod Titus, "what tokne he lafte
 To hem þat knew hym for Crist and his crafte leued?"
 "Nempne þe Trinyte by name," quod Nathan, "at þries,
 And þermyd baptemed be in blessed water."
 Forþ þey fetten a font and fouled hym þer,
 Made hym Cristen kyng þat for Crist werred.

(189–94)

After he is baptized, Titus fights on behalf of Christ, and later is shown participating in yet another Christian institution: he takes up his father's commuted crusader vow, and after breaching the walls of Jerusalem, he thanks God for the victory (1213). The Romans' militant Christianity creates a certain unity between medieval Christians and early Romans; by bringing ancient Rome into Christian brotherhood with the idealized crusading knights of the fourteenth century, western medieval Christians could take part in the victories of the ancient Romans, thereby establishing an anachronistic level of *communitas*, and validating the crusades across the millennia. Turning now to the typological interpretations of the poem, one finds that exegetical readings offer a contrast to the literal method discussed above.

TYPOLOGY AND THE CHRISTIAN ASSIMILATION OF JOSEPHUS: CRUSADE AS PROPHECY FULFILLMENT

The *Siege* offers a narrative which at once justifies and authenticates Rome's position as a holy city, for as Jerusalem is destroyed, Rome is enriched through the acquisition of its relics. The idea that the fall of Jerusalem is the necessary precondition for the rise of Rome was explored

exegetically by religious writers who saw the event as the pivotal moment in a perpetual cycle, with the role of Jerusalem's adversaries taken up by different peoples each time. The background of this cycle is the lamentation over the fall of the Temple, a form stemming from Jewish exegetical tradition. As seen in the book of Lamentations, the laments came to be recited publicly on the Ninth of Ab, the Jewish day of mourning in remembrance of the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem and destruction of the Temple in 587 B.C.E. Although the Lamentations have often been attributed to the prophet Jeremiah, they were in fact written in a hand (or hands) other than Jeremiah's.²³ The poems lament the former glory of Jerusalem, comparing that city's prior magnificence to the ruin after the invasion; along with mourning for the city's past, moral purification is lifted up as recompense for the communal suffering. E. Ann Matter notes that the lament over the fall of the Temple is not applied solely to the period of Babylonian captivity, but also to that of the fall of the *second* Temple in 70 C.E. Matter suggests the lament over the fall of the second Temple was perhaps in "response" to the Roman siege of Jerusalem, likewise remembered on the Ninth of Ab.²⁴ It is significant that one lament can be temporally exchanged for another, for in the exchange, the fall becomes a typological trope in which the different adversaries of the Jews, be they Babylonian or Roman, are perceived as a force united against Jerusalem, operating across time. As the Jewish practice of mourning the fall of the Temple carries over into medieval liturgical tradition, we find selections from the five books of Lamentations in the lessons for the first nocturn of Matins on Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday. Thus the fall of Jerusalem is treated in a commemorative, typological sense by both Jewish and Latin religious writers.

Josephus, in creating a history of the fall of Jerusalem to the Romans, contributes to the Jewish tradition of mourning the fall of the Temple. His work on this subject, *The Jewish War*, appeared in 78 C.E. and circulated through early and general assimilation; the *Siege* author is known to have accessed a reputable Latin translation of the Greek text.²⁵ As part of the tradition of the fall of Jerusalem, Josephus' work represented an apocryphal fulfillment of the biblical prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and others who warned of Jerusalem's impending doom.²⁶ The Josephan exegetical tradition not only looks back to Jerusalem's demise in the second Temple period, but also includes the first-century siege, portraying the Romans as the exegetical equivalent of the Babylonians. Symbolic interpretation of Jerusalem's adversaries, ranging from the foes

of the Maccabees to the Babylonian and Roman forces, was also applied to the fall of Jerusalem in 1099 to the Frankish army.²⁷ By the twelfth century, crusade chroniclers employed the tradition of the fall of Jerusalem to show that the campaigns were the fulfillment of biblical prophecy. As Beryl Smalley has demonstrated, the First Crusade inspired a new reading of scriptural prophecy which included twelfth-century Franks in its plan:

The New Testament still fulfilled the promises of the Old; Jerusalem retained its four senses; but the psalmist and the prophets also foretold the Frankish conquest of the holy City. Promises stretched elastically from the past to the present. Isaiah's prophecy: "That I may bring sons from afar" (60:9) foretold the victory of the Franks, God's new Israelites, over the Saracens, his enemies.²⁸

An example of such elastic interpretation is seen in Robert the Monk's account of the First Crusade. Robert writes that the crusaders, whom he calls *fili peregrinorum*, give glory to God by invading Jerusalem; he lauds the invasion as the fulfillment of the biblical prophecies "to the praise and glory of Christ."²⁹ This ecclesiastically transmitted belief that the twelfth-century fall of Jerusalem was divinely ordained by God was strongly influenced by Josephus, and echoes throughout the *Siege*.

The medieval Church's fascination with the destruction of Jerusalem, along with the liturgical and homiletic traditions concerning the event, originate from the three synoptic Gospels which contain Christ's prophecy of the city's downfall. According to Luke 19:43–4, Christ prophesied:

Quia venient dies in te et circumdabunt te inimici tui vallo et circumdabunt te et coangustabunt te undique ad terram prosternent te et filios qui in te sunt. Et non relinquent in te lapidem super lapidem eo quod non cognoveris tempus visitationis tuae.

[For the days shall come upon you: and your enemies shall cast a trench about you and compass you round, and straiten you on every side, and beat you flat to the ground and your children who are in you. And they shall not leave in you a stone upon a stone: because you did not know the time of your visitation.]³⁰

From these verses, medieval Christian exegetes built the belief that the historical fall of Jerusalem was the fulfillment of scriptural prophecy. By the fourth century, this particular Lucan passage was included in the lectionary as the Gospel reading for the tenth Sunday after Pentecost, establishing it as part of the medieval Christian homiletic tradition. While the Lucan verse was becoming part of the medieval lectionary,

Hegesippus' fourth-century *De excidio urbis Hierosolimitanae*, an abridgement of Josephus' *Jewish War*, had introduced a Christian identity for the Romans. In turn, medieval sermon writers were inspired by the fictionalized theme of Christian Rome's retribution and began to include excerpts from Hegesippus' work. Additionally, late medieval ecclesiastical drama on the Continent produced great plays of the first-century siege which rivaled the Passion and Corpus Christi plays in their length and popularity.³¹ Artistic representations of Jerusalem's fall at the hands of Titus and Vespasian appeared in late medieval religious texts on the Continent, and were also rendered artistically in England in devotional apparatus, such as books of hours.³² By the late fourteenth century, dramatic, liturgical, literary, and visual sources ensured that the first-century Roman conquest was assimilated into the moral teachings of the Church.

SHIFTING CULTURAL IDENTITIES: FROM
JERUSALEM TO ROME

From a literal, historical point of view, then, the Romans depicted in the poetic *Siege* are part of the exegetical tradition of the fall of Jerusalem. The Gospel of Luke predicts the conquest of the holy city by a nameless enemy with unspoken incentives; however, the fourteenth-century poem transforms the image of Rome from that of an unintentional intermediary to that of a willing instrument, working to fulfill the plans of God. No longer power-hungry hordes, the Romans are like medieval Christian crusaders who fight because God wills it. Thus Titus is no longer a pagan general and the pawn of holy prophecy; he is a main actor in a Christian apocryphal narrative. For the sake of Christ, then, the poetic Titus has the temple overturned and ploughed under with salt. Medieval audiences would have perceived by these actions that Titus was fulfilling Christ's prophecy of Jerusalem's utter demise as the phrase "they did not leave one stone standing upon another" [non relinquent in te lapidem super lapidem] is repeated four times throughout the poem as if to reiterate the significance of the event as the realization of the predictions.³³ By portraying the Romans as the punishers of the Jews and the avengers of Christ, the poet locates Rome within salvation history from almost the first years of the Christian era. Moreover, though little of the poem actually takes place in Rome, the short episodes that do happen there describe a city that is purging itself of pagan religion. Thus we witness the old emperors assassinate one another, pagan idols shatter

upon exposition to the Sudarium, and Vespasian crowned as the first Christian emperor. As the new champions of the Christian faith, the Christian Romans of the poetic *Siege* sanctify the once-pagan history of Rome, making the city appear to be the rightful spiritual capital of Christendom, destined to be the seat of St. Peter.

As seen above, the literal reading of Jews *qua* Jews, as Hanna and Narin van Court have established, and as Romans *qua* Romans, as I have shown, enables certain authenticating ideas about Rome to be expressed, and provides a narrative to explain ecclesiastical thinking about the Jews and Christians in the Latin west. Turning now to an exegetical investigation, one sees that the roles of the Jews and the Romans were not stable and could, as I will discuss, take on morally interchangeable forms, with either group acting alternatively as antagonists or representatives of Christianity. Just as the literal reading of the Romans of the poetic *Siege* portrays Rome as the rightful place of the Church on earth, so exegetical readings of the siege also interpret Rome as a source of religious dysfunction. In this capacity, Rome becomes God's adversary instead of playing the role of the champions of Christ, as they are portrayed in the poem. In turn, medieval exegetes appropriated the textually created images of the Jews and Jerusalem and reinterpreted them as representatives of medieval Christians and the Christian Church.

For medieval ecclesiasts, Jerusalem and the Church were exegetically linked. As Matter has shown, John Cassian's description of Jerusalem in the *Collationes* was the *locus classicus* of later medieval scriptural interpretations of that city:

Cassian's explanation of the four senses of scripture, the historical, allegorical, anagogical, and tropological, culminates in the famous example of Jerusalem, which can be understood historically as the city of the Jews, allegorically as the Church of Christ, anagogically as the celestial city, "the mother of all" (Galatians 4:26), and tropologically or morally as the human soul.³⁴

Gregory the Great, following Origen, expands the allegorical and tropological understanding of the holy city, interpreting Jerusalem's adversities as typological tribulations which have afflicted the Church.³⁵ The development of these reinterpretations and shifting cultural identities can be seen through the exegesis of many historical and biblical writers of the medieval period. I have selected the writings of Joachim of Fiore, Ralph of Coggeshall, and Ranulf Higden in order to represent those writers who were widely known in England and drew substantially from Josephus to both portray and reinterpret the fall of Jerusalem. In these

writers one finds textual links made between Christian and Jewish identity, from the portrayal of Jerusalem as *ecclesia*, to explanations of God's favor upon those men who attempt to invade the city. Such writings suggest that medieval interpretations of the poetic *Siege* included, among other readings, the persecuted Jews of the poem as representatives of the suffering body of Christians.

EXEGETICAL INFLUENCES IN ENGLAND: INTERPRETING
THE HISTORICAL SIEGE OF JERUSALEM

Although exegetical interpretation of the historical siege began long before the twelfth century, at the time of the Middle English poem's circulation in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, contemporary, mainstream exegesis was applied to the reading of the historical siege. For instance, Nicholas of Lyre's 1339 commentary on the Apocalypse and his *Postilla litteralis*, completed in 1332–3, represent very popular readings from the exegetical *sensus litteralis* that include the First Crusade in their interpretation.³⁶ Nicholas interprets John's Revelations with such close attention to crusading ideals that, as Philip D. Krey puts it, "The threat of Islam and the failure of Christianity to contain it is the single most pressing external issue on Nicholas' mind."³⁷ Nicholas, however, does not mention the role of Rome or the papal see's possible demerits in his commentary; in fact, Nicholas' presentation of his *Postilla* to Pope John XXII shows his high regard for the papacy. Models that call the morality of Rome into question reached England by other means that pre-date Nicholas, including one of Nicholas' own influences: Abbot Joachim of Fiore.³⁸ It was Joachim who voiced the connections between the fall of Jerusalem and the moral state of Rome most clearly; moreover, and perhaps more significantly, he directly influenced the reception of the historical siege by biblical exegetes in England where the fourteenth-century version of the poem was composed. For this reason, along with the *Siege* author's possibly direct access to Joachite texts, and Joachim's noted popularity in England, I discuss his work as a major exegetical influence on the writing and reception of the poetic *Siege*.³⁹

As author of the twelfth-century *Liber de Concordia Novi ac Veteris Testamenti*, Joachim develops many interpretative senses of Jerusalem that suggest an important exegetical relationship between the holiest of cities and Rome; as I will later discuss, such ties are also seen in the romance.⁴⁰ Joachim develops his exegetical method, *concordia*, in the *Liber* by using Old Testament biblical history as a kind of "key" to both the New

Testament and his own present time, as well as the apocalyptic future; with these resources, he expands the traditional metaphors regarding the holy city in ways that situate Jerusalem's significance as part of a larger pattern of salvation history.⁴¹ In his *Liber*, he explains the method to his scriptural analysis: "Strictly speaking, we say that concordia is a likeness of equal proportion between the Old and New Testament . . . ; since, namely, character and character, order and order, war and war look upon each other from a certain similar standpoint."⁴² Thus event prefigures event, character foreshadows character, and battles are set up as interconnected occurrences. This exegetical correspondence essentializes Joachim's use of the word *concordia*, showing the relationship between patterns in Old Testament history which share similarities with the New Testament accounts. Using the Old Testament like a template, he not only seeks to show how understanding of the New Testament could be gleaned from consideration of the Old, but that *spiritualis intellectus* results from considering both together.⁴³

This exegesis shows that the events and people described in the Old Testament have multiple meanings, for they correspond to, and, in a sense, were seen to prophesy, occurrences in the New Testament. He writes that this correspondence between people and events makes historical patterns apparent between past and present which serve as evidence of the divine.⁴⁴ However, Joachim's use of the Old Testament is not limited to interpretations of the New Testament; he also brings Old Testament knowledge to bear upon current events such as the threat against the Byzantine Empire.⁴⁵ In this case, he links the Islamic initiative against Byzantium to Hosea's prophecy that Israel would be surrendered to the Assyrians.⁴⁶ Joachim writes that, *secundum concordiam*, the biblical account of the Assyrians foreshadows the twelfth-century Muslim presence.⁴⁷ Even beyond current events, his exegesis includes predictions about the future, especially the Apocalypse; he writes that what is to come in the Last Days can be foretold by past events.⁴⁸ To this end, some of his contemporaries considered his *Liber* to be prophetic, believing that his work predicted the fall of Jerusalem to the Muslims in 1187.⁴⁹

Many of Joachim's prophecies center around the city of Jerusalem as the location where the Last Judgment would take place. His attention to the biblical and historical roles of the city shows a complex relationship among the historical, new, and celestial Jerusalems. This association is further complicated by the strong exegetical links with which he binds Jerusalem and Rome together. Between Jerusalem and Rome, Joachim finds *concordia* between both the personalities and events in the Old

Testament and those in the early Christian and medieval Church. He suggests a natural progression of leadership, beginning with Moses, resulting in Peter's Roman pontificate; through this interpretation of biblical history, Joachim says that Jerusalem should be called *ecclesia*:

Concordat igitur cum Moyse Paulus; Petrus cum Caleb; Iohannes autem cum Iosue. Caleb, iubente domino, data est in possessione Ebron; in quo processu temporis rex Dauid possedit et tenuit sceptrum regni, priusquam regnaret in Iherusalem. Set et Petrus sedit Rome super conuentum fidelium, qui ibi erat congregatus Iudeorum et gentium; in quo post aliquot annos Romanus pontifex, qui successit pro tempore, sollempnem obtinuit principatum, prius scilicet quam perueniretur ad istum statum in quo pro visione pacis sancta Iherusalem uocari mereretur ecclesia.

[Therefore Paul concords with Moses, Peter with Caleb, also John with Joshua. Caleb, at God's will, gained possession of Hebron, in which, in the passage of time, King David possessed and ruled over the kingdom before he ruled in Jerusalem. But Peter also ruled in Rome over the gathering of the faithful, a gathering formed of Jews and Gentiles. {In Rome}, after some years, the Roman Pope who followed {Peter} after some time, obtained this solemn principality – that is, before it actually came into that state in which, on account of a vision of peace, the Church deserves to be called holy Jerusalem.]⁵⁰

Here, Joachim compares King David's rule over Hebron to Peter's authority in the early Roman Church; he also implies that, in the same manner in which David came to rule the city of Jerusalem, the Church gradually increased its spiritual dominion in Rome. Notably, Joachim claims that with the formal recognition of the Roman Pope, the Roman Church becomes the "New Jerusalem" on earth:

Quibus nimirum assimilata fore constat ingentia illa christianorum infideliumque certamina, que post primos Christi apostolorum et Iudeorum conflictus in populo gentili consumata leguntur; . . . usque uidelicet ad tempora Constantini quando noua illa Iherusalem, ecclesia scilicet Petri, regali est coronata fastigio, quemadmodum et uetus illa Iherusalem in tribu Iuda in diebus Dauid.

[To {those conflicts in the Old Testament}, of course, it is agreed that those enormous struggles between the Christians and the infidels were assimilated; these {conflicts} are read to have been completed among the Gentile people after the first conflicts of the Apostles of Christ and the Jews . . . That is, up until the time of Constantine when the New Jerusalem, that is, the Church of Peter, was crowned with queenly eminence, in the same way that ancient Jerusalem herself also was crowned by the tribe of Judah in the days of David.]⁵¹

As the New Jerusalem, Rome becomes God's favored city, moving the position of spiritual dominance to early medieval Christian Europe. This

sentiment is echoed in the *Siege*, as Jerusalem is stripped of its religious trappings and prestige, and then replaced by Rome. Joachim makes this progression seem natural, not only biblical, by calling Rome, or *ecclesia*, the daughter of Sion; notably, *synagoga* is the mother of Sion.⁵² He rationalizes the rise of the daughter over the mother, or the new over the old, as the predisposition of the Holy Spirit to look toward that which is new.

While Joachim establishes the Roman Church as the New Jerusalem, he builds up the strong spiritual presence of the Church only to bring it down again. As he avers, Rome is doomed to the successive sieges encountered by the city of Jerusalem. The Church of Rome shares in Jerusalem's might, but it also shares in that city's sorrows. Joachim places significance on the fallen Jerusalem of the Old Testament, drawing from the book of Jeremiah to depict the battle-torn city. Accordingly, E. Randolph Daniel has shown that Joachim's early revelations in Palestine suggested *concordia* between the persecution of the Jews, Jerusalem, and the Church:⁵³

Igitur secundum hunc modum persone et persone duorum testamentorum mutuis se uultibus intuentur; et nichilominus *urbs et urbs*, *populus et populus*, *ordo et ordo*, *bellum et bellum*, et siqua esse possunt similia, que sibi affinitate similitudinum pari causa rationis conueniant . . . Igitur non solum persona personam uerum etiam multitudo multitudinem respicit ut *Ierusalem Romanam ecclesiam*, Samaria Constantinopolitanam, Babilon Romam, Egyptus imperium Constantinopolitanum, et hiis similia.

[Therefore, according to this method, {one set of} characters and {another set of} characters from the two testaments regard each other mutually; and not the less, *city and city*, *people and people*, *order and order*, *war and war*, and anything else which can be considered similar, which match each other by an affinity of similarities, by an equal argument of reason . . . Therefore, not only one character is compared to another character, but also the multitude looks upon the multitude as *Jerusalem looks at the Roman Church*, Samaria looks at Constantinople, Babylon looks at Rome, Egypt looks at the Empire of Constantinople, and things similar to this.]⁵⁴ [emphasis mine]

Here, city prefigures city, people prefigure people, and so on, until Joachim has ancient cities in *concordia* with medieval empires and the Roman Church; what these entities have in common is their state of ruin from a former position of God's favor. In similar fashion, Joachim warns that God has rejected the Church because of its sins, and he portrays the desolation of the Church as the destruction of historical Jerusalem.⁵⁵

Along with the comparison between Rome and Jerusalem, the relationship between Babylon and Rome further complicates matters by

placing the esteemed Roman Church in close proximity to desperate and depraved Babylon.⁵⁶ However, for Joachim, there was an important distinction between *Roma ecclesia* and *Roma civitas*. Indeed, in the quotation cited above, he links *Roma*, the city, with Babylon the oppressor of Jerusalem in II Kings 25:1–7; for him Babylon is also the wicked city condemned by God in Isaiah 13:2–22. In spite of this distinction, however, Joachim is concerned with the crimes of both *Roma ecclesia* and *Roma civitas*, and, as we shall see, he raises an invective against his mother Church, warning that the wickedness of the Christians within could precipitate its downfall. As Joachim finds in the prophetic account of Isaiah and Jeremiah, God rejects the Children of Israel for their sins – particularly their devotion to idols. He writes that the sins of the Jews, *secundum concordiam*, prefigure the *crimina latinorum*; he blames the “crimes” of the Church for what he perceives as God’s punishment and neglect of the Church. Comparing Old Testament Jerusalem and medieval ecclesiastical Rome, he writes, “Literally, Jeremiah bewails the sins of the Jews; according to *concordia*, he bewails the crimes of the Latins. Literally, he mourns the destruction of Jerusalem; according to *concordia*, he mourns the desolation of the Church.”⁵⁷ By linking the desolation of the medieval Church and the repeated sieges of Jerusalem in the Old Testament, Joachim begins a new trend in medieval exegetical writing about Jerusalem. He holds that the biblical and historical persecution of the Jews and the city of Jerusalem are exegetically tied to what he perceived as God’s punishment of twelfth-century Christians and the Roman Church. This exegetical method reflects Joachim’s belief that God had rejected Jerusalem. His interpretation also links the Roman Church to Jerusalem and medieval western Christians to the Old Testament Jews besieged by Babylon.⁵⁸ Thus in a Christian medieval exegetical sense, the tribulations of Jews and Christians alike are bound across time, so that events and individuals form part of a pattern set to repeat itself until the Last Judgment. The poetic *Siege* shows the influence of Joachite thought, for the Jews and holy city of the poem represent the continuation of this cycle of destruction; as I later discuss, the romance’s late medieval audiences could view themselves as the next incarnation of this cycle, threatened by typological images of demise earned by the wiles of the papacy, and by personal immorality.

Concurrent with the problem of the sins of the Church was Joachim’s prophecy that Antichrist would rise from the Church of Rome, a forecast which he also makes in his *Expositio in Apocalypsim*.⁵⁹ Long before the fourteenth-century break occurred, Joachim condemned the corruption

he perceived in the office of the Papacy by implying that Antichrist would appear in the form of the Pope. This allegation appears in English chronicler Roger of Howden's account of the 1190 meeting at Messina, where Joachim warns King Richard I of Antichrist's presence in Rome: "The king said to him, 'Where was the Antichrist born? And where will he reign?' Joachim answered him that it is believed that the Antichrist had already been born in the city, Rome, and will obtain the Apostolic Seat in that city."⁶⁰ Joachim perceives Antichrist to be a mortal threat to western Christianity arising from the spiritual heart of its empire. Along with Roger's account of the meeting with the king, Joachim's *Expositio* predicted a pseudo-Pope, appearing "quasi universalis pontifex."⁶¹ Although he never explicitly identifies the Roman Church with the city of Babylon, he does, as Marjorie Reeves has demonstrated, expect a "pseudo-Pope" as one of the manifestations of the Antichrist.⁶² After the outbreak of the Great Schism, many fourteenth-century audiences in western Europe eagerly adapted Joachim's remarks about Rome and Babylon to suit the times.⁶³ For instance, Telesphorus of Cosenza produced nationalist interpretations of Joachim's texts, claiming that Joachim's call to reform signaled the obliteration of the Roman Church through the Schism.⁶⁴ Even later, as Reeves and Delno C. West have discussed, English Wycliffites used Joachim's prophecies to indict Rome, and this rallying point was also used by Protestant Reformers.⁶⁵

Thematically, Joachim's typologies made a strong impression on those English exegetical writers who were to follow after him. Reeves has established that Joachim's work held special currency in fourteenth-century England as his criticism of the Roman Church was employed by the English exegetes.⁶⁶ Combined with the material from the Josephan tradition of the fall of Jerusalem, biblical exegesis in the hands of English ecclesiasts became a powerful tool for comment on the Great Schism. Joachim's writing was disseminated broadly across Europe and into England at an early stage. Traditional scholarship holds that the pseudo-Joachite text, *Super Hieremiam*,⁶⁷ introduced Joachim's works to the Franciscan Order in the second half of the thirteenth century, but Bloomfield and Reeves show that his writing was disseminated north of the Alps before 1240, and that Joachim's first audience included Anglo-Normans in the train of Richard I on the Third Crusade, when the aforementioned Roger of Howden met Joachim and recorded the Abbot's conversation with the English king.⁶⁸ Other English chroniclers besides Roger were intrigued by Joachim; for example, Ralph of Coggeshall, an English priest and abbot who relied on Joachist exegesis, expands the

exegetical relationship that Joachim believed Rome and Jerusalem to share.⁶⁹ In this expansion, Ralph attributes western Europe's losses in the Holy Land to the poor spiritual state of Europe, a theme preached especially in England during the time of the poem's production.

In his *Chronicon Anglicanum*, begun in 1198, Ralph's use of Joachite exegesis to interpret the Babylonian siege of Jerusalem shows that Ralph was also interrogating the role of the Roman Church and the morality of western Christendom. He makes special note of Joachim; not only does he offer an account of his life and works, but he also shows how the abbot, in his *Concordia*, compared the tribulations of the Old Testament Jews with those of western Christians. Likewise, such testing of Jerusalem again appears with an apocalyptic element, as Ralph reiterates how Joachim likened the seven tribulations of the Old Testament to the opening of the seven seals which was to take place before the end of the world.⁷⁰ Of the seven persecutions, six have been meted out to the Old Testament Jews. These six Old Testament trials foreshadow the six which are being meted out to Christians, *secundum concordiam*. Ralph's account of Joachim's work pays particular attention to the fall of Jerusalem. Out of the six persecutions he mentions, he takes special care to fully explain the fifth, for it describes the Muslim expulsion of the Crusaders from the city:

Quintam vero persecutionem, quam sub quinta visione et quinti sigilli apertione distinxit, dicit agi temporibus nostris a Saláádino et ejus successoribus, qui terram Hierosolymitanam invaserunt, et matrem Syon a civitate sua Hierusalem transmigrare compulerunt, orbata sancta Cruce, civitate et regno, et Christianorum cerimoniais et omni gloria sua illis in locis spoliata.

[Moreover, he says that the fifth persecution, which he distinguished by the fifth vision and the opening of the fifth seal, is enacted in our own times by Saladin and his successors who have invaded the land of Jerusalem, and they compelled mother Syon to move from her city Jerusalem – Jerusalem having been robbed of the Holy Cross, the city and kingdom, the ceremonies of the Christians, and her every glory in those places.]⁷¹

Ralph uses Joachim's exegetical method to explain that the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin shares *concordiam* with the Old Testament account of the Babylonian captivity. Ralph repeats his source's biblical exegesis in order to justify the substitution of Rome for Jerusalem as God's holy city. Jerusalem, without the Temple or its relics, is powerless; on these grounds, "mother Syon is compelled to leave Jerusalem," just as Jews of the sixth century B.C.E. had been.

Moreover, like Joachim, who justifies the Roman Church as the new Jerusalem, Ralph also discusses the problems of his contemporary Rome.

He writes that “New Jerusalem,” or the Roman Church, is under attack, as well. To this end, Ralph expands on the theme of Christian malfeasance in his discussion of the sixth seal marking the coming of Antichrist, who has already begun to flourish in the city of Rome:⁷²

Sed ut malignitas diabolicae adinventionis jam propagata, facilius per Antichristi saevissimam persecutionem possit in Christicolas ubique dilatari, credibile est primitus Sarracenos Antichristi praecursores paulatim terras Christianorum invadere et suo dominio subjugare, sicut eos jam fecisse cernimus; ita ut nullus Christianus princeps, *peccatis Christianorum exigentibus*, adeo potens existat, qui Antichristi saevissimae persecutioni et vesanae tyrannidi audeat, vel possit, rebellando resistere.

[But just so that the malignancy of diabolical devising which has already been propagated may be spread more easily through the savage persecution of Antichrist, everywhere against Christians, it is believable that the Saracens, precursors of Antichrist, bit by bit are invading Christian lands and subjugating them to their dominion, just as we have seen them to have done already, to the extent that, *on account of the sins of the Christians*, no Christian prince exists who is powerful enough to dare or be able to resist the most vicious persecution and frenzied tyranny of Antichrist by rebelling.]⁷³ [emphasis mine]

The Saracens, or “the precursors of Antichrist” as they are called above, are portrayed as pawns involved in a plan against Christendom. Joachim attributes their success in driving Christians from their land in the Crusader States to Antichrist himself. For Ralph, the reign of Babylon, the fall of the Crusader States, and the rise of Antichrist are interconnected.⁷⁴ This interpretation is by no means exclusive to Ralph, for the connections between the reign of Antichrist and the rise of Muslim power in the Holy Land were explored by many medieval writers. However, what is remarkable about Ralph’s interpretation is that he makes a separate distinction that “Antichrist” is also seen apart from the Muslims. By showing Antichrist as a force associated with Christian immorality, Ralph posits a distinct role for Antichrist, attributing western Europe’s loss of Jerusalem not just to Saladin’s power, but also to Christian sin.

In this placement of culpability, Ralph extends Christian ideas of community to include the early Jews, as both groups would adhere, and fall, to similar rules of judgment. By attributing the loss of Christian territory in the Holy Land to their own corruption, Ralph likens western medieval Christians to the Jews of sixth century B.C.E. discussed in Isaiah and Jeremiah, for these prophets similarly attribute the Babylonian captivity to the sins of the Hebrews. He predicts that the fall of Rome will be similar to the fall of Babylon, a comparison made possible, he says, on account of the confusion of manifold idolatry in both.⁷⁵ In turn, the

Christians cannot resist Antichrist nor can they conquer the Islamic rulers on account of their own prodigious sins. Uniting Christians and Jews through their shared moral weaknesses, Ralph explains that Christian sinfulness is a liability in the fight against Antichrist.⁷⁶ According to medieval exegetes, then, immorality lost Jerusalem for Jews and Christians alike.⁷⁷ As we have seen, the role of neither Roman, nor Jew, nor Christian occupied a fixed and immutable place in the exegetical framework. Like Jerusalem the city, these peoples were made to play several roles in order to teach Christian doctrine. The popularity of the works of Joachim and Ralph of Coggeshall suggests the wide dispersal of such interpretations of Jerusalem's demise.

Ralph's *Chronicon*, along with the additions it accrued, remained popular in England over the next two centuries. Several chroniclers borrowed from it, among them Ranulf Higden, a Benedictine monk at the abbey of St. Werbergh in Chester, who used the works of Hegesippus, Ralph's *Chronicon*, and the Latin version of Josephus in composing his *Polychronicon* in the 1320s.⁷⁸ The *Polychronicon* was both popular and widely available in England, especially in the second half of the fourteenth century. The work was disseminated among the ecclesiastical institutions in Latin and was translated into English at least twice, once by Trevisa in the 1380s, and again in the fifteenth century.⁷⁹ The popularity of Ralph's work, both directly and indirectly, suggests that its message struck a chord with its medieval English audience. Moreover, the topical nature of Ralph's *Chronicon* is borne out through the noted rise, after the western Christian loss of Jerusalem to Saladin, of English sermons against the sins of the laity in medieval England.

Just as Ralph's *Chronicon* contributed to the perception that the loss of the Crusader States was in some way connected to the sinful ways of the west, so too later chroniclers correlated the role of Antichrist with the corruption of the Roman Church in the Papal Schism. In order to examine such interpretations, one cannot look to Higden because his death in 1363 or 1364 antedates the split. However, further comment regarding the Schism is available in the *Appendix* to Higden's *Polychronicon*. Here, an anonymous author adds an account of the election of Bartholomew, Archbishop of Bari, as Pope Urban VI, along with the Cardinals' attempt to depose him, and the election of the Anti-Pope. This anonymous material is biased in the favor of the English, though not obviously so; the chronicler does take care to mention the detail, unwelcome in English eyes, that this new Pope is "consanguineum regis Franciae" [a relative of the King of France].⁸⁰ In spite of his political

leanings, the writer seems more concerned that the Schism occurred in the first place than he is about the political situation with France, concluding, “ita horribile schisma in capite universalis ecclesiae est exortum” [thus the horrible schism arose in the head of the universal Church].⁸¹ Similarly, these events receive no comment from Trevisa in spite of the fact that his other translations, such as those of the *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum* and Archbishop FitzRalph’s anti-fraternal *Defensio Curatorum*, suggest that Trevisa made a pastime of commenting on the corruption he perceived within the Church.⁸² However, as Walter Ullmann has shown, although few English chroniclers comment at length about the Papal Schism, those who do give extensive accounts endow Urban with unquestioned authority and, in contrast, show utter contempt for Clement, the court at Avignon, and the French Crown.⁸³

An extensive English account of the Schism was produced by Thomas Walsingham, a monk writing at St. Albans in 1377.⁸⁴ In his *Historia Anglicana* and *St. Albans Chronicle*, he documents the beginning of the Schism, follows its course and displays anti-French feelings.⁸⁵ Walsingham describes a letter sent to Pope Urban VI, where his former cardinals attack him and his election to the Papacy, referring to him as “apostaticus, anathematizatus, Antichristus, et totius Christianitatis invasor ac destructor.”⁸⁶ Such invective suggests that the ecclesiastical writers like Ralph of Coggeshall had, through their criticism of the Papacy and discussions of the apocalypse, prepared England for the next step in exegetical interpretation: the Anti-Pope as Antichrist.⁸⁷ Likewise, this association circulated widely across western Europe, appearing in the language of the French ecclesiasts, as seen in the example above and in later communications.⁸⁸ Almost twenty years after the start of the Schism, the use of the term “Antichrist” in association with the Papacy was employed by the Lollards in their *Conclusiones* against the Church, fixed upon the doors of Westminster Abbey and St. Paul’s Cathedral in 1395.⁸⁹

Related to the corruption attributed to the Church were the sins of Christendom in general; the perceived state of moral decline, which was correlated with the Great Schism, continued to be thought to foment the loss of the Crusader States.⁹⁰ Both Higden and Trevisa take part in this tradition in their accounts of Richard I’s losses in the Holy Land. As if to justify Richard’s defeat, Higden writes that the failure is part of God’s plan to chasten Christendom:

Sic igitur Christus Rex noster malis hominum bene utens, dum terrenam suam Jerusalem . . . in manus tradit hostium, coelestis suae Jerusalem uberiora lucra subtiliter conquisivit. Itaque propter nostrorum defectum et dedecus

temporum oportet civitatem sanctam conculcari a gentibus usque ad tempus quod solus Deus novit.

[And so Christ our king, using men's evil well, while he gives over his land Jerusalem . . . into the hands of the enemy, he subtly conquers the fertile riches of his celestial Jerusalem. And thus on account of our defects and shameful times, it is right that the holy city be trampled by people until the time which God alone knows.]⁹¹

According to Higden, the loss of Jerusalem was planned by God himself; the Muslim occupation of Jerusalem was in fact a type of punishment or purification ritual for the Christians.⁹² As previously discussed in ch. 2, this belief that the loss of Jerusalem was spiritually justified continued to be perpetuated in England. Trevisa elaborates on this passage, clarifying in his Middle English translation that although earthly Jerusalem was lost, Celestial Jerusalem, or eternal salvation, could be gained by enduring punishment for sins. Thus, by experiencing the Muslim conquest, western Christians pay a kind of penance and thus progress toward their own heavenly salvation. Trevisa adds that the loss of Jerusalem is a just punishment meant to strengthen Christendom. By suffering the defeat, they would win Celestial Jerusalem instead.⁹³ Trevisa's translation suggests that although western Christians had lost hope of winning back their territories in the Holy Land, nevertheless, they felt they still owned it in a more spiritual, sublimated fashion.

THE *SIEGE* AS DEVOTIONAL AND POLITICAL
TEXT FOR AFFECTIVE USE

It is in light of this explanation or necessity of losing earthly Jerusalem that I read the *Siege of Jerusalem*. Meditation on this siege would have enabled such virtual habitation of the Holy Land as was to be had in affective meditation on pilgrimage. Certainly not every medieval text that mentioned Jerusalem necessarily lent itself to such interaction, but the religious content of this poem, its interest in relics, its arguably sympathetic portrayal of the Jews, together with the rich exegetical applications shown here, prompt this investigation. Indeed, the poem's own manuscript tradition suggests its relation to meditative exercise. Of the romance's manuscripts extant in six copies, two fragments, and one piece of a single leaf, three of the six full copies of the work include the *Siege* in the same manuscript with material of large devotional, religious import. Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 656, for example, the base-text for the poem studied in this chapter, offers such works as *Piers Plowman*,

an exposition on the Creed, and biblical excerpts along with the *Siege*. Another manuscript has “The Quatrefoil of Love” and *Wynnere and Wastoure* accompany the romance; while a third manuscript places the *Siege* among pieces such as *The Prick of Conscience* and (once again) *Piers Plowman*.⁹⁴ Likewise, one of the rather substantial fragments places the *Siege* in company with a *Speculum vitae* and a fourteenth-century prose translation of Pseudo-Bonaventure’s *Meditaciones passiones cristi*.⁹⁵ Situating the poem among the other works with which it often appears, Hanna and Lawton envision two receptions, one relegated more fully to romance, and the other within a context where the *Siege* should be read as “a quasi-scriptural narrative, a pendant to the Passion.”⁹⁶

Meditation on the soul as an embattled site of Jerusalem also may have been useful to the English community at large. As English involvement in the Hundred Years War upheld a split in the Church dictated by nationalistic loyalties united against France, the traditional exegesis which linked the suffering of Rome and that of Jerusalem likewise influenced the poem’s reception in England.⁹⁷ In the *Siege*, the depiction of the Jews, like that of the Romans, is elastic; not only do the Jews of the poem represent Jewish groups who come before and after them, but they also represent medieval Christians. In England’s historical chronicles, medieval Christians in the Holy Land, like the Jews in the poem, suffer death by the sword, and fall to sickness and starvation in their attempt to keep Jerusalem.⁹⁸ According to some exegetes, hope for winning the physical Jerusalem is so unattainable that an eternal ideal of the city is evoked instead. So, too, the actual city in the poetic *Siege* is annihilated, with the Temple torn apart stone from stone.⁹⁹ This retribution for Christian sin is borne out in Higden and Trevisa’s exegetical interpretation that Jerusalem would be trod under the feet of the enemy until Christendom earned God’s forgiveness and deserved the city. In this way, they would have to earn their eternal reward in heaven: Celestial Jerusalem. In replacing the material with the spiritual goal, the physical city no longer matters, and its annihilation inaugurates a period of renewal for western Christendom. The text thus both explains Christian inability to keep the city and justifies the power of Rome. As far as the English were concerned, Rome, like Jerusalem, was at the mercy of Antichrist, though this time it struggled under the perceived threat of a corrupt papal government at Avignon instead of Muslim armies. Rome, Joachim’s “New Jerusalem,” would rise up and perform the offices of a sacred earthly city just as Jerusalem had done. Likewise, the city of Jerusalem, seen at once as a metonym for the Jewish people, the Christian Church and soul, and city of heavenly

salvation, occupies a multivalent place in the spectrum of symbolic religious language. Religious writers such as the anonymous Hegeppus, Jerome, Paschasius Radbertus, Joachim of Fiore, and Ralph of Coggeshall represent a mere handful of authors using Josephus to create biblical commentary based on typologies of Jerusalem. As medieval ecclesiastical writers mined Josephus' account of the Jewish war for material, they found numerous parallels which suggested to them that the Roman triumph over Jerusalem was part of the pattern of salvation history.

While the exegetes mentioned here demonstrate how medieval audiences interpreted the presence of the Romans in biblical history, this depiction also reveals more information concerning the Jews. As Narin van Court has shown, the first-century Jews of the poem may have been viewed as medieval Jews through the Augustinian tradition. Alternatively, as Hamel argues, they may have been perceived as the non-Christian adversary of the crusades, thus as part of a more generalized body of Saracens. To these readings I wish to add that, for an English audience, the role of the Jews would have also come to represent the plight of the English nation itself. Such typological exchanges between the medieval Christian and first-century Jew were expounded in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century popular sermons, as English laity were encouraged to identify with the children of Israel.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, as the Jews of the siege are made to represent Christendom under threat, they are portrayed as a people with whom to sympathize and from whom to gain inspiration in the face of adversity. Such ideas would have been vitally important for a country whose hopes for political prestige were also bound together with its spiritual image, and were thought to depend upon moral reform to insure future military and financial success. Thus England, like Jerusalem, might suffer the invasion of its adversaries should its inhabitants displease God, leaving themselves vulnerable to the prophecy found in the poetic *Siege*: “Voys fram est, [voys] fram west, [voys] fram þe foure wyndis! / . . . sayd, ‘wo, wo, wo, worþ on zou boþ, / Jerusalem þe Iewen toun and þe ioly temple” (1230–2). Perhaps English audiences may have envisioned the potential collapse of the nation due to their moral depravity, imagining their adversaries bewailing them, like the Romans over the Jews, “warien þe tyme / þat euer so precious a place scholde per[i]sche for synne” (1261–2). Reading “Nas no ston in þe stede stondande alofte,” they may have imagined the almost complete annihilation of the English Christian community, the destruction of their fields and industries, or, at the very least, their “captivity” to their adversaries.

The narrative offers likewise related themes of Jews and Christians as co-sufferers of the results of immorality. For instance, in a scene which has been called an inverted image of the eucharist, the episode of the Jewish mother, Mary, roasting and eating her child, may have represented the vulnerability of the clergy (and therefore the sacraments) under the perceived fallen state of the papacy.¹⁰¹ In the capture of Caiphias and the subsequent humiliation of him and his clerks, a Christian audience could identify the potential weakness of its own ecclesiastical leaders (693–708). With the efficacy of the clergy threatened, they may have envisioned themselves as powerless, “schrynken . . . / As womman [welter] schal in swem whan hire þe water neþeþ” (531–2). In spite of this vulnerable state, the occasionally positive images of the Jews in the poem portray them as a courageous people who strive to be faithful. As Caiphias reads to his listeners from holy scripture, medieval audiences would have perceived in the Jews a people who had experienced a long history of divine favor (481–4). Likewise, the poem’s audiences would have seen in them an admirable people who would rather fight to the death than surrender to their adversaries or convert to a different faith (777–84). As a leader of the Jews, Josephus is mentioned as a wise general, a “g[y]n[fu]l clerke,” even though this example is problematized by the fact that Vespasian always seems to be one step ahead of him (789). Finally, Jewish strength is evident, when the troops of Jerusalem threaten to decimate the Romans:

þe cite had ben seised myd saut at þat tyme
 Nad þe folke be so fers þat þe fende serued,
 þat kilden on þe Cristen and kepten þe walles
 With arwes and arblastes and arche[le]rs manye.
 (837–40)

The strong Jewish front ultimately leads Vespasian to revert to his passive strategy of starvation, instead of facing his adversary in open combat. In spite of these images of Jewish strength, medieval readers familiar with the story would no doubt also have considered these portrayals ironically, for such opportunities for interpretation suggest that a medieval Christian audience viewed the Jews bi-focally, both as those “þat þe fende serued,” and as a sacred people whose historical connection with God was worth emulating. While this list of interpretations is not meant to be exhaustive, it does hope to illustrate both the positive and negative qualities portrayed in the first-century Jews of the poem; they are depicted as a group with

whom a late medieval Christian audience might identify, if only to learn a serious cautionary tale about spiritual obedience.

SAVING THE JEWISH CITY, SAVING
THE CHRISTIAN SOUL

As Narin van Court has demonstrated through her study on the Augustinian historians, the *Siege* poet's treatment of his sources shows the influence of late twelfth-century Augustinian attitudes toward the Jews.¹⁰² Her work on Augustinian writers, such as William of Newburgh and Thomas Wykes, shows that they considered a Jewish presence necessary in order that Christians could remember Christ's Passion; William cites Psalm 59:12, "Slay them not, lest my people forget," in defense of the Jews.¹⁰³ While William and Wykes argue that the Jews are useful to Christians and therefore better left unharmed, they also show outrage at the inhumanity of the crimes against the Jews and condemn Christian barbarity against them. This moral response results in William's castigation of Christian violence and defense of the Jews. Noting that the *Siege* poet may have been influenced by William through other Augustinian historians such as Wykes, Narin van Court finds precedence for the poet's sympathetic portrayal of the Jews. Like Wykes who condemns cruelty against the Jews, the *Siege* poet shows the influence of "toleration" in his revisions of his sources and humane descriptions of defeated Jews.¹⁰⁴ While several scholars have addressed the issue of the poem's sympathetic depiction of a suffering Jewish people, I would add that the exegetical typologies of the actual siege offer valuable information regarding this rendering. The influence of medieval exegetes like Joachim of Fiore, who, in the manner of Gregory the Great, compared the plight of Jerusalem and the Jews to that of the Christian Church and Christians, initiated just such a "sympathetic" interpretation of the Jews; for in the Jews, medieval Christian exegetes saw themselves. Thus in investigating the role of the Romans, one can find further information regarding the role of the Jews, the sympathetic nature of their portrayal, and the English audience itself. Through exegetical interpretation, medieval Christian commentators found a way to explain western Europe's tribulations in the Holy Land through a series of typologies, linking their own place in history to a cycle of suffering associated with Jerusalem since the Babylonian captivity. By placing the fall of Frankish Jerusalem to the Muslims alongside the long succession of historically and biblically recorded falls of Jerusalem, western Christians both situate their loss in

scriptural terms and bring themselves into a cycle of history associated with the Holy Land.

Considered together, the exegetical reading of the poem which interprets the Jews as a typological Christian people and views the Romans as the Antichrist seems contradictory to the literal reading of the poem where fictitious Romans are linked to the Christian crusading forces of western Europe. On the one hand, the typological interpretation necessitates a counter-reading of the *Siege* wherein the Roman aggressors become the adversaries of Christendom, and the Jewish siege victims occupy a martyr-like role as Christians. On the other hand, the literal reading appears much more straightforward as it portrays a fictionalized Roman force whose Christian roots link the poem's audience to past military grandeur and spiritual authenticity. While these exegetical and literal interpretations seem incompatible, taken together they show the elasticity and economy of exegetical forms which could be altered and utilized as needed. This variety would have offered medieval audiences multiple possibilities for the mental exercise of spiritual role-playing – the poem's interpretative potential presents a selection of symbols which may have better enabled spiritual meditation, itself a step toward moral reform in England. Likewise, both the typological and exegetical constructions reach the same conclusions regarding the Papal Schism: as a criticism of the Papal Schism, the exegetical reading of the poem would have been in circulation at the precise historical moment of the strife with Avignon, and the text shows the disastrous results of typologically related conflict. Like the figurative interpretation, the literal reading of the poem supports the Church of Rome by creating a history of Rome's ties with the holy city, Jerusalem. Through both expositions, the position of Rome as spiritual capital is justified even as the Papal Schism is questioned. Finally, both readings present a moral call to arms in the face of Muslim occupation of the Holy Land. The exegetical approach, however, expands into areas of interpretation where the literal viewpoint cannot: it not only calls for its audience to participate in a campaign against the adversaries of Christendom, be they Antichrist or Saladin, but also urges Christian reform from within. The poetic *Siege* shows the role of the Romans shifting in its cultural valence; it also shows the role of Jerusalem shifting from a material relic sought by the English, to that of a celestial city of the soul.

The Book of Sir John Mandeville: *text of pilgrimage and spiritual reform*

Having begun this study with English pilgrim itineraries, this chapter, at first, appears to be a return to a similar subject. However, *The Book of Sir John Mandeville* represents a contribution to pilgrimage and crusade writing unlike any before its time.¹ The *Book's* unique qualities arise from its composition from more than fifty sources, ranging from romances to itineraries and military histories. Through this compilation, the writer presents an elaborate narrative in the guise of a guidebook to Jerusalem and beyond. For as many textual genera as the *Book* includes, it seems to have been used by its medieval audiences for just as many purposes, including pleasure reading, didactic instruction, fulfillment of curiosity, and vicarious pilgrimage, to name only a few. Josephine Waters Bennett, for instance, says that the *Book* was intended as “entertainment for would-be crusaders,” an aid to pilgrims, and an encouragement for the preservation of holy places.² Some scholars believe that it was composed in order to promote crusade interests, particularly those at Nicopolis.³ It was also heeded as a serious work of scientific import, studied by writers and navigators such as Christopher Columbus, Thomas More, Walter Raleigh, Martin Frobisher, Gerhard Mercator, and others.⁴ For the *Book's* many uses and audiences, Iain Macleod Higgins has referred to the work as a medieval “multi-text.”⁵ More recently, Geraldine Heng has noted how the *Book's* narrative format functions like a “bricolage of exotica,” a “wonder box,” and “curiosity cabinet” for the variety of experiences it makes available.⁶ Likewise, Rosemary Tzanaki has shown that Mandeville’s audiences viewed the author through the multiple personae of “pilgrim, geographer, romancer, historian and theologian,” depending on the historical context in which the *Book* was read, and on the specific biases of the adapters of different versions of the text.⁷

Selecting from among the *Book's* many medieval receptions, and recognizing that each person could receive the text in many ways, this chapter addresses the account’s reception as a devotional narrative.

Building on Heng, Higgins, and Tzanaki's work, my approach explores the *Book's* portrayal of Christian religious identity and the promotion of English *communitas* through the narrative's depiction of the holy city and its Passion relics, scattered worldwide. Mandeville's presentation of Jerusalem, the Holy Land, and its neighboring regions represents a significant departure from those texts discussed in the first chapter of this study, for his account is not designed for practical use to aid the traveler on actual pilgrimage to the Holy Land. As I discuss, his work is ideally situated for interior pilgrimage to that region and beyond. Also unlike pilgrim writers such as the Anonymous, Wey, and Torkington, the voice of Sir John Mandeville in the Defective version studied here directly encourages its English audience to strive for impeccable moral status, and singles out the English Christian community as potential leaders in a Europe "divided" by sin. In its concern over the ways that immorality can fracture the Christian community, Mandeville's Defective text has much in common with the crusade rhetoric deployed in *Richard, Coer de Lyon* (*sic*) and *The Siege of Jerusalem*. Like these romances, the *Book* calibrates morality in terms of an individual's relationship to Jerusalem.

Many English late medieval audiences viewed Mandeville's textual representation of the Holy Land as an image standardized with reference to its sites of religious devotion. This land is, however, also destabilized in regard to Mandeville's depiction of it as a suffering entity in need of English protection and veneration. By considering Jerusalem's portrayal as a geographical and spiritual center in the *Book*, one sees that city's qualities as political and spiritual relics emerge, and this realization offers variable ways to interpret the text's claims on Jerusalem as an English "inheritance." Like other authors explored in this book, Mandeville interrogates western Christian morality and finds that western sinfulness prevents its conquest of Jerusalem. Yet it is certainly significant that along with Mandeville's social critique, he also provides a guide useful for contemplative tours of the holy city and the world, at large. This discussion, therefore, offers a new reading of the *Book* as a devotional aid which offered both a diagnosis and a cure for the spiritual ills of western medieval Christendom.

TEXTUAL BACKGROUND: MANDEVILLE'S IDENTITY AND
THE *BOOK'S* "ENGLISH" RECEPTION

Before examining Mandeville's use of Jerusalem in formulating medieval concepts of English religious identity, it is useful to localize

TBJM in the context of England. In the manuscripts studied here, Mandeville's *Book* identifies its audience as English, and draws attention to the role of devotion to Jerusalem as a touchstone of that community. Of the English versions of the *Book*, the Defective is the oldest known English translation of the Insular version, thought to be the *TBJM*'s original source in England.⁸ The Defective version was also the dominant form of the text in that country, extant in thirty-three manuscripts, and six fragments.⁹ It was the version referred to by Geoffrey Chaucer and the *Pearl*-poet; likewise, Richard Pynson used it as the basis of the edition printed *c.* 1496, which became the form of all English printed editions of the *Book* until 1725.¹⁰ Because of the Defective version's place as that closest to the original Insular version, along with its wide circulation, I refer to it throughout this chapter.¹¹

Through his pilgrim persona, Mandeville seems to offer an expert view of English medieval expectations of pilgrim writing. In spite of the *Book*'s claims to "English-ness," as discussed by Higgins, the provenance of the text is complex, in part, because of questions related to authorial identity.¹² The writer presents himself as a fourteenth-century Englishman, referring to himself as "I Ioon Maundeuylye kniȝt," born in St. Albans, England.¹³ Not only is his origin depicted as English, but, in the Cotton manuscript, his authorial intentions are as well: he says that he writes specifically for an English audience, translating his original work from Latin to French, and from French into English, so that "euery man of my nacoun may vnderstonde it."¹⁴ In spite of these claims, nineteenth-century through present-day scholars have suggested that Sir John Mandeville may have been a fictitious persona, and, likewise, may not have been English. Indeed, the suggestion has been made that the Mandeville-persona may have been the invention of a French writer who may have never, in fact, traveled.¹⁵ Some scholars see "Mandeville" as a pen name for a real historical personage including Jean D'Outremeuse and Jean de Langhe.¹⁶ Others take Mandeville at his word.¹⁷ For instance, Michael Bennett, who cogently argues for John Mandeville's real existence and authorship, may change the complexion of the debate.¹⁸ Though present-day scholarship is undecided on both counts of authorship and exact dating, I assess the Defective text according to how it would have been received by an English medieval audience in these regards: as an authentic travel account written by an Englishman, Sir John Mandeville.¹⁹

THE ROLE OF JERUSALEM IN THE *BOOK*: SACRED OBJECT
AND RELIGIOUS CENTER

Mandeville situates England in close relation to Jerusalem, establishing the holy city as an English focal point of religious and political devotion. In the *Book*, as in other contemporary works and maps, Jerusalem was seen as the center of the Christian world, and was depicted as a sacred object, worthy of adoration. According to Mandeville, Christians were obligated to venerate it, or, to put it in his words, “to . . . worschipe and preyse siche an holy lond” (4/8–10). In addition to this passage which appears in the Defective, another version of the *Book* which circulated in medieval England – the Latin Vulgate text – urges that the Holy Land ought to be “loved” and honored for “its every power and measure,” suggesting more strongly the belief that the place itself exerted powerful spiritual force.²⁰ As seen in other works in this study, physical control and ownership of the Holy Land, like owning a relic, was tantamount to control over this valuable spiritual resource. Likewise, in the *Book*, this spiritual energy was seen to derive both from Jerusalem’s proximity to Christ’s Passion, and its geographically central location.

In further exploring the power attributed to Jerusalem by the Passion, one sees that this event was of central importance to western medieval Christianity. The hope to present ekphrastic reproductions of Jerusalem and its environs for the purposes of spiritual devotions was not peculiar to the English, nor to the late medieval period, but to much of western and eastern Christendom as early as the twelfth century. The Russian Abbot Daniel, who traveled from Russia to Jerusalem in 1106–7, wrote that his account was intended “for the faithful, so that, in hearing the description of the holy places, they may be mentally transported to them, from the depths of their souls, and thus obtain from God the same rewards as those who have visited them.”²¹ Burchard of Mount Sion, too, who lived in Palestine *c.* 1280, wrote that his work was to “help others picture the holy places in their minds when they cannot behold them with their eyes.”²² Although Mandeville spends only a few chapters of the *Book* describing the holy sites in and around Jerusalem, in the descriptions of other cities from Constantinople to Samarkand, much of his attention is on the relics of the Passion or those of Christians located in these lands. This approach marks a significant departure from the style adopted by the guidebooks mentioned in ch. 1. Even before Mandeville speaks of Jerusalem, he foregrounds the description of that city with information on the Passion instruments he finds at Constantinople.

While discussing the Byzantine city, he focuses on the relics of the sponge and reed, a nail, wood of the True Cross, and Jerusalem's history as the place of Helena's *inventio*. He also provides information on other Passion relics no longer in Jerusalem, such as part of the Crown of Thorns, a nail and spearhead which were by then in the St. Chapelle in Paris, another part of the Crown at Constantinople, and the spear-shaft which then belonged to the Emperor of Germany.²³ Such narrative style shows that even while Mandeville describes places other than the holy city he continues to show reverence for that place through the Passion relics which originated there.

Turning from Byzantium to Jerusalem, he accounts for the wood of the True Cross, Christ's crucifixion, the making of the Crown of Thorns, and the crowning of Christ, carefully mentioning the significance of each object and event in relation to its place in a scriptural past. According to Mandeville, the Passion events, above all others, gave Jerusalem its significance:

among alle oþer londis þat is moost worþi lady and soueryn of alle oþere londis, and it is blessid and halewid [and sacred] of þe precious blood of oure lord Ihesu Crist; in þe whiche lond it likeþ hym to take fleisch and blood of þe virgyne Marie and to enuyroun þat lond wiþ his blesside feet. And þere he wolde do many myraclis and preche and teche þe feiþ and þe lawe of vs cristene men as to his children. And þere he wolde suffre many repreuys and scornys for vs. (3/2–10)

Here, events of the first century, such as the incarnation, "myraclis," and preaching, shape fourteenth-century devotion to a terrestrial place. In fact, Mandeville states explicitly that the location itself is to be accorded nearly the same reverence as that owed to God, suggesting that Christians felt that they could gain access to their God through that land. Moreover, because of this connection, Mandeville avers, the very land itself deserves veneration:

Riȝt wel auȝte men to loue and worschipe and drede and serue siche a god and a lord, and worschipe and preyse siche an holy lond þat brouȝt forþ siche fruyt, þurȝ þe whiche eche man is sauȝd but it be his owne defaute. (4/8–12)

Placed as it is in the Prologue, this statement guides the interpretation of the rest of the work, as the Holy Land is held up as the genetrix of divine "fruyt." Through Mandeville's depiction, it would seem that Jerusalem and its environs are placed on equal footing with the Virgin Mary; therefore the place is positioned as consecrated space, and due the same reverence paid to sainted people and holy bodies. It is this very close

identification with the Holy Land, situated as if it were a person, that is important in Mandeville's portrayal of the holy city and its related lands, for the depiction closely ties Jerusalem to affective practices used by medieval Christians who sought to identify with the saints.

While the first third of the *Book* discusses Jerusalem's importance in terms of its emotional and geographical centrality, the layout of the work does not necessarily reflect this design; indeed, the center of the narrative (as defined by pages of text, not chapters) is eastern Asia, not Palestine. Instead of placing Jerusalem in the middle of his text, Mandeville begins his account with descriptions of Byzantium and Jerusalem, then moves away from these cities, circling toward the east in a roundabout manner. Nevertheless, his consistent discussion of Passion-related relics far and wide runs through his accounts like an undercurrent which constantly brings his reader back to Jerusalem. His placing of this holiest of cities near the front of his account establishes Jerusalem's centrality in a narrative sense, for the rest of the world's geography is then interpreted in reference to it.

Mandeville's chapter on Jerusalem, compared to other sections of his *Book*, is quite lengthy and detailed, suggesting an effort to present a substantial amount of information which could have been used as devotional material for meditation on the Passion of Christ.²⁴ This is not unlike other late medieval devotional writers. For instance, when the fourteenth-century English cleric Nicholas Love depicts the Passion of Christ, he, like his source, takes great care to offer detailed descriptions aimed to capture the imaginations of his audience. One particularly telling example occurs as Love describes the nailing of Christ to the Cross; in this case, the writer encourages the audience to imagine specific methods of crucifixion, either with the nailing taking place on the ground and the Cross then raised, or with the nailing taking place on the Cross in an upright position.²⁵ Although Mandeville does not allow his audience the imaginary freedom that Love did, he does create an image for spiritual visualization: "And 3e schul vndirstonde þat oure lord was nayled to þe croys liggynge, and þerfore he suffride more peyne" (8/16–17). Like the detailed description of the crucifixion, the potential of the *Book* to aid in medieval devotion is also seen through Mandeville's exact description of the True Cross: through it, audiences reading *TBJM* at home could imagine Christ's crucifixion and venerate the relic of the Cross in their mind's eye. Again, Mandeville supplies specific detail: "þe croys of oure lord Ihesu Crist was of lengþe eiȝte cubetis, and þat þat was ouerwert hadde yn [lengþe] þre cubetis and an half"

(9/12–14). In the same manner, he offers a precise description of the Holy Sepulchre:

in þe myddel of þe chirche is a tabernacle as a litel hows ymade in þe manere of half a cumpas riȝt wel and richely wiþ gold and azour and oþer colouris wel ydiȝt. And on the riȝt side is made þe sepulcre of oure lord. And the tabernacle is viii feet long and fyf fote wide and xi feet hiȝ. (28/29–33)

In this quotation, one is reminded of William Wey's boards with which the pilgrim marked out the dimensions of the Sepulchre for his veneration of the site later at home.²⁶

Mandeville establishes the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, located within medieval Jerusalem, as the spiritual center of the holy city.²⁷ Like most Christian pilgrims, he values that church for housing the site of several major Passion events, the main one being the crucifixion. According to Mandeville, "when men go to Ierusalem, þei goþ þe firste pilgrimage to þe chirche whare is þe holy graue" (28/24–25). Such central points are arranged like a series of concentric rings, for Mount Calvary, the supposed site of the crucifixion, is encapsulated first by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, then by the city of Jerusalem. Mandeville recounts that Mount Calvary is engraved with the statement, "þat þou seest is ground of alle þe world and of þis fey," translated by him from Greek into Latin and English.²⁸ Situating Calvary as the *fundamentum* or "foundation" of the world and Christian faith, he highlights the role of the Passion as the center of western medieval Christianity (29/28–29). Indeed, Mandeville refers to a spot on that mountain as such when he reports that "men seyn" that the place where Joseph of Arimathea set Christ's body "is þe myddel of þe world" (31/5–7). Such conceptualization of spirituality and geography persisted into the sixteenth century with writers such as Richard Torkington, who continued to refer to Calvary as the earth's center because of its associations with the Passion.²⁹

Following Augustine's memory model, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is presented like a life-size "storehouse" of Passion memories for Christians visualizing that event at home. Like other relics, the fixtures of the Passion are described with precision: "wipynne þe mount of Caluarie at þe riȝt side is an auter whare þe pyler liþ to whiche oure lord was bounde when he was scourgid" (30/10–12). Even the stones are held sacred for their proximity to the crucifixion (30/12–13). Likewise, other sites within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre are venerated as contact relics, such as the place where Helena found the crosses, the wall where the four nails were hidden, the compass in the middle of the church

where Joseph of Arimathea set the body of Christ after taking him from the cross, the north side of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre where Christ was imprisoned, and part of the chain with which he was bound.³⁰ Yet this church was not only linked to Christ's crucifixion; it was also important as evidence of his resurrection, for, as Mandeville writes, "þere" he appeared to Mary Magdalen on the third day (31/11-12).³¹

Moving outward from this building, Mandeville mentions dozens of important pilgrimage sites throughout the city, including another pillar where Christ was bound and scourged, and where Peter denied Christ three times.³² On Mount Sion he describes more places made sacred by their role in the Passion events, such as the site of the Last Supper, and the Garden of Gethsemane.³³ Gradually Mandeville moves his description outside of Jerusalem, reporting how "there" outside Bethany somewhere, Christ forgave Mary Magdalene, Lazarus was raised from the dead, the Virgin appeared to St. Thomas, and Christ sat and preached.³⁴ "There near" is Mount Galilee, the Jordan River, and outlying holy cities like Nazareth.³⁵ He next describes the area where Judas hanged himself, the synagogue where Judas made his contract to betray Christ, and the field that was bought with the silver (39/10). In a roundabout way, Mandeville pieces together the major events of the Passion as they occurred all over the landscape within and around Jerusalem. Though the episodes are not arranged chronologically, as is seen with his account of Judas, together they make up the central events of Christian religion.

By attaching words and events to places, Christians were able to remember the Passion in a standardized manner, virtually unchanged over a long period of time. As a mnemonic representation of the Passion, Mandeville's description of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the environs of Jerusalem speaks to the nature of medieval memory formation. As Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski have shown, ancient and medieval writers recognized the two-fold aspects important in remembering, that is, both storage and recollection. Memory storage belonged to a specific chamber of the mind, while recollection was a process involving composition, whereby matters stored in various places in the mind were brought out to be reassembled anew.³⁶ Memory was therefore a key component in meditative devotion, and one of the strengths in this systematization of memory was that it could be revisited and re-combined into new forms.³⁷ This is seen in Mandeville's representation of Jerusalem, for while he records the major events of the Passion, his method is by no means chronological. For example, he describes a site under some steps where Christ rested while carrying the

cross, and afterwards mentions the gate through which Christ rode on Palm Sunday, before his Passion (31/28, 32/4–5). Rather than following a chronological order, Mandeville's description follows the geographical layout of the Jerusalem tour. Likewise, in the process of memorization, material was imagined into discrete mental storage blocks, such as "a five-storey, five-room section of a house, a columnar diagram, the stones in the wall of a turreted urban tower, the rungs of ladders, the rows of seats in an amphitheater, and a world map."³⁸ In the same way, the city of Jerusalem was used as a mnemonic device as its devotees could recall the biblical doctrine by re-visiting the actual sites affectively. The recursive nature of the devotion toward this site invited Mandeville's audiences to share memories of an itinerant community identified throughout his book as English Christians.

GEOGRAPHIC CENTRALITY AND ITS RELATION
TO RELIGIOUS DEVOTION

Not only does Mandeville depict Jerusalem as a spiritually central site in medieval Christian faith and memory, but he also describes its geographical centrality, explaining that God preferred the city for practical, evangelical, and symbolic purposes.³⁹ Because Mandeville perceives geographic centrality as a special quality, he writes that Jerusalem is ideally situated for divine things to occur:

And þat lond hadde he chose bifore alle oþere londis as for þe beste [and most vertuous] and þe moost worþi of þe world, for as þe filosofir seiþ, *Virtus rerum in medio consistit*, þat is to say, þe vertu of þinges is in þe myddel. (3/15–18)

Along with the innate "virtue" of centrality, this location also appeals to Mandeville as an ideal platform from which to easily spread knowledge of Christ to the rest of the world:

And he þat was kyng of glorie and of ioize miȝt best in þat place suffre deef; for he þat wol do ony þing þat he wole be knowen openly by, he wole do crie it openliche in þe myddel place of a cite oþer of a toun, so þat yt may be wel knowe to all þe parties of þe cite. (3/23–7)

Mandeville also mentions the Passion as an event which, because of its importance in Christian religion, subsequently takes place at the center of the world to spatially represent its place in the Christian faith: "And þefore he þat was kyng of al þe world wolde suffre deef at Ierusalem for þat is in þe myddel of þe world" (3/27–4/4). Jerusalem's geographic

centrality is likewise illustrated spatially in maps contemporaneous with the *Book*. Indeed, its English texts show an awareness of these maps, for Mandeville writes that during his visit to Rome, the pope compared his text to one “after which . . . þe *mappa mundi* ys ymade” (136/13). Likewise, western European mapmakers, influenced by Isidore of Seville’s seventh-century diagrams of the world, depict Jerusalem’s centrality in the T-O *mappamundi*.⁴⁰

Jerusalem’s importance also was seen in such maps as the *Beatus Mappamundi* of c. 730–98, which is not quite a T-O map, but Palestine is enlarged compared to other regions around it.⁴¹ While there are few T-O maps extant from the seventh through eleventh centuries, the large number that exist from the twelfth through fourteenth centuries suggests that, with the crusades, the portrayal of Jerusalem as the earth’s center had added significance. One of the medieval T-O maps, the *Byzantine–Oxford Mappamundi*, was brought back to Ireland or England in 1110 after the First Crusade.⁴² Over one hundred years later, the *Ebstorf Mappamundi* of c. 1235 displayed the T-O formation with Jerusalem at its center, and also included Christ’s head and limbs as part of the map, illustrated Old and New Testament stories, and displayed the locations of both pilgrim shrines and monsters.⁴³ The *Hereford Mappamundi*, produced as early as 1300 in England, shows a similar configuration, with the exception of the image of Christ.⁴⁴

As Valerie Flint and Scott D. Westrem have discussed, the T-O maps represented political, theological, and social interests at their time of production.⁴⁵ Regarding these concerns, Sylvia Tomasch notes a link between the activity of mapping territory and displaying spiritual agenda as “secular kingdoms” are cordoned off from the “Christian imperium.”⁴⁶ By linking the political, social, and devotional material in one image, the T-O map, like the *Book*, displays the close connection between devotional and political activity which both fueled and reflected three centuries of acquisitive crusading fervor. Further, the fact that not all western maps of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were T-O maps suggests that their creators were aware that Jerusalem’s centrality was more a devotional and political, rather than geographical, construct.⁴⁷ These *mappaemundi* are known for their use in medieval devotion and virtual tours of Jerusalem. For its similarities to the T-O maps, the *Book* represents an important artefact of medieval memory art. Higgins defines the *Book* as a verbal analogue to the T-O maps so that the earth is thus represented “not merely geographically as a physical arrangement of lands and waters but theologically as the site of salvation history.”⁴⁸ Indeed, theologian Felix

Fabri, writing a century after Mandeville, held that in spite of the new scientific facts brought to light by the rediscovery of Ptolemy – among these that Jerusalem was not, in fact, the earth’s center – the city was nevertheless the middle of the earth because of its scriptural history.⁴⁹

The depiction of Jerusalem’s centrality was not unique to European Christian cartographers of the crusading period.⁵⁰ There was, for instance, a Jewish tradition of portraying Jerusalem as the world’s center, as apocalyptic Judaism and the *Midrash* relate that Adam was created in Jerusalem, and therefore that city was the center of the world.⁵¹ According to medieval Christian doctrine, beliefs of Jerusalem’s centrality derived from sources relating their God’s partiality to that city, as seen in biblical verses Psalm 73(74):12 and Ezekiel 5:5, and the works of the Church Fathers, such as Jerome’s *Commentarii in Hezekielem*.⁵² Also the encyclopaedist Isidore, mentioned above, represents Jerusalem as not merely the center but also the “navel” [umbilicus] of the earth in his seventh-century *Etymologiae*.⁵³ The idea of Jerusalem’s centrality was likewise taken up in England by Bede in his *De locis sanctis*.⁵⁴ In spite of awareness of the lore of Jerusalem’s centrality, David Woodward has shown that few pilgrim texts referred to Jerusalem as the earth’s center until the western Christian crusading period.⁵⁵ This finding suggests that devotional fervor for this land was somehow connected to territorial ownership. Perhaps, then, it is to this end that thirteenth-century chronicler Matthew Paris’ map places Acre at the world’s center: Acre was, by Paris’ time, the last Christian outpost of the Crusader States, and therefore must have seemed a natural choice for taking over the role of centrality from a Jerusalem considered lost to western Christendom. By the early sixteenth century, when crusading efforts were finally abandoned, this spatial relationship of Jerusalem’s geographical centrality came to be viewed as purely metaphorical.⁵⁶ It is, however, significant that visual representations of Jerusalem’s centrality prevailed only as long as its importance as a spiritual goal was yoked to its political role as the destination of crusader activity and land of territorial desire.⁵⁷

THE BOOK OF JOHN MANDEVILLE AND REGAINING THE CENTER

Some of Mandeville’s text appears calculated to escalate western Christian crusading fervor, for at the same time that it portrays Jerusalem as an important Christian devotional and geographical center, it also depicts the Holy Land in a state of decay, crumbling under the neglect of its Muslim inhabitants. For instance, like the pilgrim accounts mentioned in

the first chapter of this study, the *Book* describes Acre as a “somtyme” great city, but now destroyed (19/11–20, 20/1–2). Likewise, near Tyre was “somtyme a faire cite of cristene men, but Sarasyns haueþ destroyed hit a grete partye” (18/13–14). At St. Katherine’s grave there was once a chapel, “but it is cast adoun and 3it liþ þe stones þere” (22/18). It is as if Mandeville wishes to rouse his audience’s defensive feelings for certain holy sites; for instance, he explains that, in the Valley of Hebron, the Tombs of Adam and Eve, Isaac and Sarah, Jacob, Rebecca, and Leah are guarded by Muslims so that no Christian or Jew is allowed to enter (43/31). Mandeville goes on to say that all Christians are denied access by Muslim guards, “for þei holde cristene men and Iewis but as houndis þat schulde come in none holy place” (24/8–10). In these instances, Muslims are portrayed as willfully interfering with Christians and Jews who wish to worship at these sites. Such complaints against Islamic dominion of the Holy Land echo those already mentioned in the guidebooks discussed in ch. 1, again illustrating the common use of the religious Other as a figurative challenge to Christian adoration.

Mandeville expands this range of Islamic power as a much larger threat to Jerusalem’s sacred nature than the guidebooks depict. Not only are the tombs forbidden, but so is the *templum domini*, for Mandeville shows Muslims denying Jews and Christians access to it (32/18). Within the Temple, Mandeville describes the Ark of the Covenant as the center of the Temple much as he depicts Calvary as the center of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. He explains, however, that this focal point (the Ark) is no longer there, but was taken away to Rome in the first century (34/13–15). From the Temple, he goes on to describe another empty focal point: that of the former homes of Templar Knights and Regular Canons who have been expelled (36/2). With these depictions, Mandeville accounts for Jerusalem’s decay by means of its gradual de-centering as the inner essence of its sacred buildings – in this case, that essence being the Ark, Templars, and Canons – is removed. That Mandeville feels compelled to recount the special contents of these buildings shows his role in remembering the sacred; at the same time, however, it suggests his interest in encouraging Christian conquest before more relics and Christian institutions were lost or subsumed under non-Christian control.

The *Book* portrays the Holy Land as an undeniably sacred place, but also as one that is at the same time surprisingly fragile. Christians, like the Muslims, left their mark on the Holy Land, although in different ways: Mandeville writes that at the time of his visit, it had not been long before

when people could “kisse” and “touche” the Holy Sepulchre. However, because of visitors who wished to take away souvenirs, the monument was enclosed: “for men þat come þedir payned hem to breke þe ston in pecis oþer poudre to bere wiþ hem, þefore þe sowdan haþ lete make a wal aboute þe graue þat no man may towche hit but in þe lyft syde” (29/2–4). Endangered by their own patrons, the relics are also said to be extremely breakable. For instance, Mandeville describes the spines from the Crown of Thorns, “þer ys many of hem tobroke and falle into þe vassel þere þat crowne is as þei breke when men remewiþ þe vessel to schewe to grete lordis þat comeþ þedir” (9/28–30). Through explaining the fragmentation of the relics Mandeville shows their vulnerability. He also demonstrates their scarcity: he describes how Christ was crowned five different times with a new crown for each occasion, revealing how medieval ecclesiasts attempted to meet the high demand for relics, for these multiple crowning scenes were not biblical. Mandeville’s record of such adaptation shows that some clergy were willing to change their legends in order to provide sufficient relics for the market (9/31–10/23). Fashion also dictated the rise and fall of a relic’s popularity, as seen in Mandeville’s description of the painted image of the Virgin Mary that turned into flesh and blood. He says, “þat ymage ys [now] seene but litel,” implying that it had lost its audience (50/27, 51/1–5).⁵⁸ His statements regarding the relics’ short supply, fragility, or neglect reveal that the sacred objects in the Holy Land were fast disappearing. In the same language with which the crusade sermons encouraged their audiences to save the Holy Land from destruction, the *Book* portrayed Christian relics in need of rescue by those perceived as their owners.⁵⁹

The crusade rhetoric of rightful ownership, seen in medieval descriptions of the Holy Land as the “inheritance” or “heritage” of continental Europe and England, is prevalent in the Prologue to the *Book*.⁶⁰ While the Holy Land is described as the property of western Christians, Mandeville’s English audience is described as its heirs, “For we beþ clepid cristen men of Crist oure fader, and zif we be þe rízt children of Crist, we owe to calenge þe heritage [þat] oure fader left to vs and do it out of straunge men hondis” (4/16–19). Such descriptions of entitlement are in no way peculiar to *TBJM*, and, as I have discussed, appear in crusade romances such as *Richard, Coer de Lyon* along with works by Raymond d’Aguilers, Raymond Etienne, William of Boldensele, Marino Sanudo, and others.⁶¹ Mandeville’s particular description of the Holy Land as part of western Christian heritage unites the concepts of territorial ownership and crusade with a specifically devotional exercise. By describing western

rights to the Holy Land as ancestrally pre-ordained by the Christian God, Mandeville provides his audience with justification for its proprietary interest in the region. Indeed, he refers to it as the rightful “herytage” of his audience no less than five times throughout his brief Prologue (4/12, 18, 22, 24; 5/1). Because the Holy Land is portrayed as the inheritance of western Christians, Mandeville enjoins his English readers to “conquer” it:

pis is þe lond hiȝt til vs in heritage, and in þat lond he wolde deiȝe as [possessed] þerynne to leue it to his children; for þe whiche eueryche [good] cristen man þat may and haþ wherof schulde strengþe hym for to conquere oure riȝt heritage and cacche out þerof hem þat beþ yuel trowyng. (4/12–16)

Mandeville reasons that since Christ died in the Holy Land in order to leave it to his followers, they should be prepared to sacrifice themselves in order to win it from the hands of non-Christians. Mandeville’s interest in crusade is not accidental, for the *Book* circulated during the latter half of the fourteenth century when crusading impulses were still thriving. As discussed in ch. 3, crusading had influenced religious devotion in many ways, including the expansion of affective exercises surrounding Jerusalem. Like the poetic *Siege of Jerusalem*, Mandeville’s *Book* describes Jerusalem as a center of western Christian religious practice; unlike the “Romans” of the *Siege*, however, Mandeville does not abandon Jerusalem as a worn out shell of what was once sacred, but rather he situates it as an origin of memory and devotion, and source of spiritual benefit. Affective pilgrimage and crusade might therefore aid those who wished to make the actual journeys.

Locating Mandeville within the broad strokes of an historical moment, one notes that he wrote during a period when European forces had little control in the Holy Land. In 1291, more than fifty years before the alleged completion of the *Book*, the Christian occupation of Acre had crumbled and the territory had come under Muslim rulership. Mandeville would have been born in the reign of Edward I, a king greatly affected by Acre’s fate: Edward had fought there in 1272, and wished to lead another crusade to restore the city to Christian rule.⁶² Yet for many reasons at home and abroad, prospects to achieve this goal looked grim. The Templar Order was suppressed in 1312, while the Hospitallers later moved from the Holy Land to Rhodes. However, in spite of defeat, the English crusading impulse continued to thrive.⁶³ In 1312, twenty-eight of the two hundred knights on Rhodes were English, with a reserve in England of thirty-eight knights or more, not including their retainers.⁶⁴ By 1343 the English crusading order of St. Thomas of Acre was

established at Nicosia on Cyprus; 1343–7 also marked the success of the Hospitallers and their allies in taking Smyrna.⁶⁵ When the *Book* appeared in England, the re-conquest of the Holy Land had been a political objective for almost three centuries.

Alongside English military investments in crusading initiatives, much destabilizing activity was occurring elsewhere, including incursions by the Ottoman Turks who had entered western Europe and captured Adrianople in 1361. Locally, the political scene was also in rapid flux with England's involvement with the Hundred Years War.⁶⁶ In spite of this crisis, campaigns in the Holy Land and Baltic regions remained a concern of the minor nobility in England and France, and noble rulers prepared for crusade, motivated both by personal devotion and by the need for bargaining power in the war.⁶⁷ Edward III had recently won a victory over the French at Poitiers and subsequently both English and French forces turned their attention to crusading when, in 1362, Pierre I de Lusignan, King of Cyprus, visited Europe and enlisted the help of the kings of France, England, and Denmark to support his crusading efforts.⁶⁸ As seen here, fluctuations in the politics of the Middle East and France did not discourage English participation in crusading endeavors during the fourteenth century; in fact, their misfortune abroad seems only to have made their quest more urgent, and the focus on Jerusalem seems to have always remained, even when more immediate wars occupied the time and energies of France and England.

That Mandeville's audience was thought to be specifically English at the time of the *Book's* circulation is important, for it redirects thinking about the later crusades as an English, rather than French, endeavor.⁶⁹ Mandeville writes that the Holy Land rightfully belongs to his audience, referring to it as: "þe holi lond þat men calliþ þe lond of biheest," creating a play on words with the "land of behest" and the "Promised Land," and identifying the English with a people who had been promised that territory by God (3/1–2). Mandeville would have been conversant with such rationale because of his familiarity with sources which used similar descriptions, such as William of Boldensele who refers to European Christians as "nobis Christianis, veris Israëlitis" [we Christians, the true Israelites].⁷⁰ Further exegetical similarities between Christians and Jews are drawn when the *Book*, like the *Richard* and *Siege* romances, shows David and Goliath to illustrate the hopes of the few western Christians against the perceived indomitable force of the Muslims. As medieval exegetical sources show, this relationship was seen to parallel that of the Jews against the Philistines. Believing that God would come to their aid,

medieval Christians desired to defeat the Muslims through the same divine intervention thought to have inspired David's victory over the Philistine giant, Goliath.⁷¹

Concurrent with the *Book's* suggestion that its English audience were heirs of the Holy Land was the concept that God was punishing their immorality by withholding their "inheritance." This sentiment, also discussed elsewhere in this study, is seen likewise in works contemporary with *TBJM*, such as *The Siege of Jerusalem*. Both narratives indirectly suggest that immorality connected with the Great Schism was responsible for Christian defeat in the Holy Land. Mandeville makes oblique references to both the Great Schism and the Hundred Years War, condemning the sins which these skirmishes engendered: "But now pruyde, enuye, and couetise haþ so enflawmed þe hertis of lordis of þe world þat þei beþ more besy for to disherite here neiþboris þan for to calange or conquere here riȝt heritage" (4/20–3). With two popes serving diverse political aims, and with England and France continually engaged in territorial battles, continental Europe and England seemed to share no unified purpose, and for this reason Mandeville writes that western Christians have gone morally astray; accordingly, he compares them to "a flok of scheep þat haþ no scheephurd" (4/23–7). Indeed, Mandeville directly links this lack of ecclesiastical and political unity in Europe to conditions in the Middle East. As seen in other texts in this study, Christian morality was thought to affect territorial success in the Holy Land:

[But] wolde God þat þe wordly lordis were at goode acord and wiþ oþer of here comyn puple wolde take þis holy viage ouer þe see, I trowe wel þat wipynne a litel tyme oure riȝt heritage biforeseid schulde be reconciled and yput in þe hondis of þe riȝt eures of Ihesu Crist. (4/27–5/2)

After listing nearly a dozen different cultural groups who have dominated the Holy Land, Mandeville writes that none but moral and obedient people are destined to hold it, "for Crist wold not þat it be in þe hondis of traytours and synneris, be þei cristene men oþer oþer" (28/19–23). According to Mandeville, the Christian God would award the Holy Land only to his most faithful followers: since the lands were thought to have been lost by "synne of cristen men," he writes that "so schal þei be wonne aȝen by help of God þurȝ cristene men" (31/2–3). In these quotations, Jerusalem is represented both as a sacred object and spiritual barometer of western devotion. As Higgins has shown, this land was worshiped as a devotional object, venerated, as he puts it, "metonymically as a kind of eucharistic host, which... was to be snatched from the hands of

misbelievers and returned to those worthy to receive it."⁷² Just as in the texts of the *Siege* and the *Richard* romance, Christendom in the *Book* is divided against itself, not just regarding the Papal Schism, but also into groups of Christians deemed "worthy" and "unworthy" of winning God's favor, conquering "infidels," and holding possession of the Holy Land. This delineation involved a call for social and political reform which is evident, to greater or lesser degree, in all of the pilgrimage and crusade texts I have mentioned in this study. In the case of the *Book*, I would extend Higgins' comparison of Jerusalem to the eucharistic host by emphasizing the role of Jerusalem in calibrating the morality of Christendom: it is as if the western Christians who wished to control the Holy Land saw, in their relationship with that city, not only their own worthiness, but also proof of their own salvation.

In critiquing the western Christian political and ecclesiastical schism, Mandeville represents the more perfect realms of Prester John and the Great Khan as political and spiritual ideals in contrast to the split, fallen state of Latin Christendom. Because of sinfulness attributed to the schism, Mandeville's asides imply that France, not England, was perceived as a spiritual liability in winning Jerusalem. This is a theme already explicated elsewhere in this study; however, it is noteworthy that it appears here in a contemporary prose work ostensibly about pilgrimage and world travel. While English medieval audiences perceived themselves to fight for their inheritance in England, France, the Middle East, and elsewhere, part of this audience was also known to have viewed the French as envious and morally corrupt.⁷³ Along these lines, Mandeville accuses the papacy of "pruyde, enuye, and couetise" (4/20-3). If this criticism was perceived to originate from an English author, then any medieval audience would have known that Mandeville was indeed criticizing the Avignon pope, Clement VII, for his *superbiam* and *avaritiam*, components of the Seven Deadly Sins. The suggestion places the Avignon pope in spiritual peril, implying at the same time that the Roman pope was the rightful ruler. Indeed, in an interpolation in the Defective and a few other manuscripts originating in England, Mandeville purports to have visited Rome for the pope's approval of his work, not Avignon (136/3-15).⁷⁴ None of the other versions contains the papal interpolation, and its appearance among the English derivatives of the Insular version suggests that these manuscripts of *TBJM* were prepared with an English audience in mind. Here, and in other English versions of the *Book*, Mandeville places on England the weighty responsibility of becoming a moral model for western European Christendom.

CONQUERING JERUSALEM: TACTICAL STRATEGIES
AND THE *BOOK*

Having discussed the holy city's desirability, Mandeville presents two methods of subordinating Jerusalem: physically, through actual crusading, and spiritually, through crusade and pilgrimage of the soul. In terms of actual crusade, *TBJM* is similar to other French and English texts of the fourteenth century which encouraged their audiences to fight for Christian dominion the Holy Land instead of battling each other.⁷⁵ Mandeville was familiar with such works on crusading as his sources show.⁷⁶ Though he does not explicitly encourage crusade, the content of his work implies that he shares with these writers the hope that the secular and theological rulers of continental Europe and England will make peace. Nevertheless, he does offer information for practical crusading purposes. For instance, he provides details for conducting siege warfare on Jerusalem, telling which locations are weak and where water supplies may be cut. Subsequently, as Mandeville describes the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, he adds: "bifore þe chirche of þe sepulcre is þe cite most wayke for þe grete playn þat ys bitwene þe cite and þe chirche on þe eest side" (31/29–31). He then notes Mount Sion's tactical situation immediately after describing its holy sites: "þe mount Syon is wiþynne þe cite, and it is a litel heiþer þan þe oþer side of þe cite. And þe cite is strengre on þat side þan on anoþer side, for at þe foot of mount Syon is a faire castel and strong" (38/22–4). In addition to these descriptions, he outlines specific vantage points around the city, such as how one may see the streets of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olivet (40/5–7). Sites of the Passion events, useful for spiritual meditation, thus are intended to play a role in actual warfare. In turn, Passion relics themselves are depicted as secret weapons to be used against the adversary. Mandeville offers potential assistance to would-be crusaders, explaining how capture of the Passion relics would give them military might. For example, he discusses how one of the four nails used in Christ's crucifixion was used by the Emperor of Constantinople as part of the bridle for his horse when he went into battle. Through the nail's "vertu" the Emperor won Asia, Turkey, Syria, Jerusalem, Arabia, Persia, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and other kingdoms (30/21–7).

Along with this form of crusading, Mandeville advises both political and ecclesiastical reform as a means to heal rifts in the Christian community. While the Defective version never names the leaders responsible for the sinful "division" of the world, the heads of France, England, and the Avignon papacy are implied. The Latin Vulgate version, unlike the

Defective, actually names the rift as that between France and England.⁷⁷ Composed after 1396, the Latin version recounts the political strife in fourteenth-century Christendom, mentioning in its Epilogue the war between England and France. The close of the Latin Vulgate version finds Mandeville the narrator in Liège, having dwelled there for three years awaiting the opportunity to return to his native England. The Mandeville-character speaks hopefully of a cessation of the battles and writes about rumors of peace between the English and French kings:

a tempore quo recessi, duo reges nostri Angliae, & Franciae, non cessauerunt inuicem exercere [praelia,] destructiones, depraedationes, insidias, & interfectiones . . . Et ecce nunc . . . audio dictas Dominorum inimicitias, per gratiam Dei compositas: quapropter & spero, ac propono de reliquo secundum maturiorem aetatem me posse in propriis, intendere corporis quieti, animaeque saluti. Hic itaque finis sit scripti, in nomine Patris, & Fillii, & spiritus sancti, AMEN.

[from the time when I started traveling, our two kings of England and France have not ceased to wage, by turns, {war,} destruction, depredations, ambushes and killings . . . And lo, now . . . I hear that through God's grace the said enmity of those lords has been settled. Wherefore also I hope and aim to be able to attend for the rest of my riper years to my body's respite and to my soul's salvation at home. Here then is the end of my writing, in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen.]⁷⁸

Unlike the other versions of the *Book*, the Latin Vulgate is explicit in portraying Mandeville's connection to his homeland, England, through his desire to return there and his relief at the end of the political turmoil between it and France. He credits God with settling territorial battles between French and English Christians just as he has relied on divine authority to aid Christians in their disputes with Islam. This type of closure is different from that in both the Continental and Insular versions, perhaps reflecting the Latin Vulgate's original composition in England. For this particular Mandeville-narrator portrayed in the Latin Vulgate, England, his homeland, is the ultimate place for working out his own salvation. This focus on home shifts the audience's gaze from the Holy Land and marvelous East to England as a place beloved by God, where one can earn a place in the Celestial Jerusalem.

In the Defective version, as in others, this call for interior reform is seen most clearly in Mandeville's discussion with the Sultan of Babylon. In this private conversation, the narrator expresses both popular and theological justifications for the Christian failure to conquer the Holy Land. He, like other writers in the fourteenth century, cautions against crusade until continental Europe and England are moral enough to

deserve victory.⁷⁹ In the *Book*, this concept is placed in the mouth of the Egyptian Sultan, a character whom Mandeville is shown to respect and know well. In fact, Mandeville writes that he served as a soldier under this Sultan in his war against the Bedouin, and that the leader had encouraged him, albeit unsuccessfully, to marry a Muslim prince's daughter and forsake his own faith (21/29–22/2). In their most intimate interaction, the Sultan and Mandeville have a conversation where the Sultan reveals knowledge of western Christian sinfulness. The Sultan says that western priests offer bad examples to their congregations; therefore people fight, spend more time in taverns than in churches, and eat like gluttons (60/12–20). He adds that Christians are “couetous,” and that they “dispise and defoule þe lawe,” given to them by God “for their salvation” (60/26–7). For these actions, he says, God has punished the Christians:

“for 3oure synnes haue 3e lost al þis lond þat we holdeþ, for bicause of 3oure yuel lyuyng and 3oure synnes 3oure God haþ zeve al þis londis into oure hondis. And we haue hem no3t þur3 oure owne strengþe but al for 3oure synnes, for we woote wel forsoþ þat what tyme so 3e serue wel 3oure God, þanne he wole helpe 3ow so þat no man schal do a3ens 3ow.” (60/27–61/4)

In this quotation, the Muslims are depicted as more aware of what the Christian God demands from his followers than are the Christians themselves. Moreover, according to Mandeville, the Sultan admits that the Muslim success in holding the Holy Land is due to no virtue of their own, but rather Christian error, again adding a sense of urgency to western spiritual reform.

Along with this depiction of Muslim knowledge of western Christendom's fallen state, Mandeville places a prophecy of Christian success in the mouth of the Sultan:

“And we wote wel by oure prophecyes þat cristen men schal wyne þis lond a3en when þei serue wel here God. But while þei lyue so foule as þei do, we haue no drede of hem for here God wole not helpe hem.” (61/4–7)

Here, Mandeville again shows that Christian dominance of the Holy Land will be possible only through moral reformation. Compared to Christians, he says, “Saracens” are “trewe,” for they keep the laws of their holy scriptures, unlike Latin Christians (61/21). The idea that Muslims upheld their own laws in a more faithful manner than Christians did theirs may have functioned to shame the audience into moral behavior; since Muslims were thought by Christians to have turned their backs on God, it would have been seen as an embarrassment that they outperformed their Christian adversaries in matters of spirituality.⁸⁰ Indeed, it is

as if Mandeville uses such portrayals of exemplary Muslim morality in order to encourage Christian spiritual reform.⁸¹

While the Defective version along with the Continental and other Insular versions does not make an explicit demand for spiritual change, the redactor of the Vulgate Latin version actually spells it out, calling for reformation in order to win Jerusalem:

Nunc pie igitur [rogo] consideremus, & corde attendamus, quanta fit confusionis, & qualis opprobrii, dum Christiani nominis inimici nobis nostra exprobant crimina. Et studeat quilibet in melius emendare, quatenus . . . possit in breui tempore, haec de qua loquimur, terra Deo delecta, haec sacrosancta terra, haec filiis Dei promissa, nobis Dei adoptiuus restitui [*sic.*]: vel certe, quod magis exorandum est, ipsi Sarraceni ad fidem Catholicam, & Christianam obedientiam, Ecclesiae filiis aggregari, vt simul omnes per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum consubstantialium Dei filium perueniamus ad caelestem Paradisum.

[Now therefore, {I ask,} let us piously consider and take to heart how much confusion and what opprobrium exists so long as the enemies of the Christian name reproach us for our misdeeds. And let each person be zealous to improve, as much as he can . . . in a short time, in order that this {land} of which we speak, a land delightful to God, this sacrosanct land, promised to the sons of God, be restored to us, God's adopted: or indeed, what is more highly to be urged, that the Saracens themselves be joined to the Catholic faith and Christian obedience to the sons of the Church, so that we together through our Lord Jesus Christ, God's consubstantial son, may all reach the heavenly Paradise.]⁸²

The Latin Vulgate version's English origins speak to the idea that the English versions of the text were tailored to an audience specifically interested in its own reform.⁸³ As for the Defective version, the location of Mandeville's conversation with the Sultan immediately after the description of the Holy Land seems rhetorically placed to encourage the audience to make spiritual adjustments at home in order to win back their "heritage" abroad.⁸⁴

As Sebastian Sobocki has shown, Mandeville and the Sultan's conversation on spiritual reform has ecclesiastical roots in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum*.⁸⁵ Like Caesarius, Mandeville establishes the Sultan as a rational man, and outlines certain similarities between Christianity and Islam. Moreover, he sets up his discussion as a sermon, with the themes of the loss of the Holy Land as punishment of the sins of western Christians, and of future western victory over that land.⁸⁶ Yet an important side-note exists in the *Dialogus* which Mandeville does not state explicitly, an idea which was also a prevalent theme in fourteenth-century sermons: Caesarius explains killing the "infidel" as a way to earn salvation.⁸⁷ This theme is much more prevalent in the *Richard*

romance than in the *Book*, and this difference may suggest that, in *TBJM*, the idea of crusading, much like the idea of pilgrimage, had expanded to include its manifestation as an affective exercise. Mandeville's placement of the vision of the reformed soul in the words of an Islamic leader shows that the process of transforming Palestine into a Christian rather than a Muslim sacred center relied not only on public, communal campaigns, but also on private, spiritual re-conceptualization of that territory.⁸⁸

RE-READING MANDEVILLE: THE *BOOK* AS CURE FOR THE SOUL

Along with providing his English audiences with a critique of their society, Mandeville's *Book* also offered a cure for the moral ills which he identifies. As has been discussed, such treatment could be found in the use of virtual pilgrimage material which Mandeville supplies in abundance throughout his book, offering a view of the earth that is Passion-related, worldwide. Certainly other interpretations and receptions of the *Book* could rightly view Mandeville's abundant descriptions as entertainment, but I would suggest that in his creative reworking of the genres from which he draws, Mandeville offered a portrayal that was as devotionally focused as it was exciting. In examining one of the *Book*'s receptions as a devotional guide, medieval manuscript collation practices of *TBJM*, and Mandeville's conscious adaptation of his sources to include more religious material, one finds that devotional receptions of the *Book* were indeed popular in fourteenth-century England.⁸⁹ While instances of accidental manuscript collation mean that assessments made from quiring practices must be viewed judiciously, it would be wrong-headed to discount altogether the collation habits in all manuscripts in which the *Book* appears; the work is included in so many manuscripts in the company of other devotional texts that this pattern should not be ignored. Indeed, as is shown below, the accompaniment of Mandeville with devotional material was often intentional.

The late medieval productions of the *Book* written in English and collated in England did not always appear with devotional works; for example, pieces such as Lydgate's *Destruction of Thebes* and historical texts were popular company.⁹⁰ In many of the English manuscripts, however, *TBJM* appears with devotional works such as *Piers Plowman* and treatises on visiting the sick (all in a single hand). It also features with Robert Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne*; religious and moral works in Latin; and the stories of Susan, Daniel, and the Flight into Egypt.⁹¹ One manuscript shows Mandeville's narrative with William Staunton's *Vision in St. Patrick's*

Purgatory and Tundale's *Vision*; another with the Ten Commandments, an exposition entitled *De mirabilibus mundi*, a treatise on the Sacraments, and works by the Church Fathers.⁹² Elsewhere, the *Book* shares company with *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, a letter by St. Bernard, and other moral works.⁹³ Another manuscript places it with *The Proverbs of Solomon* and Lydgate's *Life of St. Edmund*. In one case, *TBJM* accompanies an English account of *The Translation of St. Anthony, Abbot of Constantinople*, and the *Long Charter of Christ*.⁹⁴ In another manuscript of particularly striking moral content, the religious legend of *Ypotys* precedes *TBJM*, and follows it with *The Prick of Conscience*, *Guy of Warwick*, *Seven Wise Masters*, and Chaucer's *Melibee*.⁹⁵ These medieval collation practices suggest that in England the text was popular among religious audiences as well as those seeking entertainment. Of the devotional works, *Piers Plowman* appears several times with the *Book* in different manuscripts, often in works planned as a single unit.⁹⁶ Among other devotional trimmings, one manuscript of *TBJM* has added the passage: "And oure holy fader hath graunted to al tho that redith or wrytith or heryth this boke with good devocion, an C dayes to pardon and goddis blessinge an hye. Explicit Maundevely." ⁹⁷ While this is only a brief summary of a small part of the *Book's* manuscript history, the numerous appearances of the *Book* with other devotional material suggest that some English audiences received it as a book useful for promoting Christian spirituality and religious identity.

Likewise, some medieval manuscripts of the *Book* produced in England show that the writer was fashioning his sources toward material more appropriate for affective devotion. In fact, while late medieval guidebooks were becoming less focused on religious topics as discussed in ch. 1, the English redactors of the *Book* are known to have changed their sources in order to make the text more religious in tone. For instance, the Latin Vulgate version, which developed first in England, is known for its "more orthodox" modifications to the earlier text; such changes include the expansion of theologically based discussions in the Prologue regarding God's love for the Holy Land, and more explicitly calling for crusade in order to regain that land.⁹⁸ The scribal transmission of the Defective version, in particular, also speaks of the *Book's* appeal to medieval English readers as a devotional text focused on Jerusalem. Seymour has noted the pattern of the Defective scribe to reduce his coverage of subject matter from his source texts; however, this practice appears predominantly in the second half of *TBJM*, and not during the scribe's discussion of Jerusalem and the Holy Land.⁹⁹ Similarly, examination of Mandeville's borrowing from Odoric's work shows that Mandeville favored devotional detail over

the practical; for instance, he omits Odoric's account of local foods and wines to focus solely on the characters of biblical history associated with a specific locality, such as the Magi at Cassan or Job at Hus. Elsewhere, Mandeville leaves out Odoric's commercial information, such as the price of dates, to highlight the birth and life of Abraham instead.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, he even expands Odoric's references to biblical history to make them more elaborate.¹⁰¹

In the rare instances when Mandeville turns away from Odoric's biblical material, he looks not to the practical, but to the mythical and monstrous, describing, for instance, the land of the Amazons, Mauritania – where people have one large foot only – and the diamonds of India which breed and grow like animals.¹⁰² Mandeville employs accounts of the wonders of the East, foreign travel, and marvels not only to entertain, but also to increase levels of Christian faith. As he himself suggests, both *mirabilia* and marvels are significant as evidence of God and useful for strengthening Christian devotion. The most definitive statement on the use of these phenomena in aiding religious piety is seen in other Insular versions of the *Book* in a section which the Defective version may have contained earlier:

For the myracles that God hath don and yit doth euery day ben the wytnesse of His myght and of His merueylles, as Dauid seyth in the Psaltere, *Mirabilia testimonia tua domine*, that is to seyne, Lord, Thi merueyles ben Thi wytness. (*Mandeville*, Cotton 44/25–9)¹⁰³

Here, the conflated use of the words “merueyle” and “mirabilia” illustrates that these terms, at least as far as Mandeville was concerned, connoted similar phenomena. Following the Augustinian tradition, these miracles were meant to cause the viewer to actively “marvel” and thereby reflect on the powerful nature of his God. Further, Mandeville's reverence for marvels and miracles is scripturally based in biblical verses such as Psalm 71:17–18 which suggest the rationale behind the miracles:

benedicentur in ipso omnes tribus terrae omnes gentes beatificabunt eum benedictus Dominus Deus Deus Israhel qui facit *mirabilia* solus.

[And in him shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed: all nations shall magnify him. Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel who alone doth *wonderful things*.]¹⁰⁴
[my emphasis]

As Higgins has shown, Mandeville links earthly and divine wonders in order to reveal the omnipotence of his God. In *TBJM* the marvelous not only held a high entertainment value, capturing the attention of the

curious, it also embodied a vocabulary for describing the “unknowable” or divine.¹⁰⁵ For those medieval audiences seeking to use Mandeville’s work for religious purposes, the *Book* would have provided rich material to fuel their imaginations.

PILGRIMAGE AND CRUSADE OF THE SOUL:
THE IMPORTANCE OF PLACE

By interacting with a work which taught English pilgrims to remember Jerusalem, Mandeville’s audiences could use the *Book* for many devotional exercises including moral reform of the soul. Between the Jerusalem the pilgrims knew from the Bible and the Jerusalem that actually existed, the “fabled” existence was considered more real than the material one. More significantly, perhaps, this textual, fantasized Jerusalem was considered crucial in the process of spiritual reform. Jean Richard has shown that, in the medieval period, place constituted a specific type of knowing that allowed the projection of a holy ideal onto landscape which could then be physically inhabited.¹⁰⁶ Even if a country such as England had slim hopes of ever owning the Terrestrial Jerusalem, they were assured of inhabiting its spaces in their mind’s eye. As seen in the *Book*, the value of a place seems to have increased when biblical history was believed to have unfolded in that space. Interpretation of the holy sites, then, was meant to turn one back toward biblical scripture. In what Mary Campbell calls “the project of landscape,” referring to the dual activities of “both perceiving...and representing [landscape],” Mandeville describes the Holy Land according to the history which had happened there, and not from its fourteenth-century physical description.¹⁰⁷ Thus, in most places in *TBJM*, the Holy Land has a textual rather than actual existence, in that descriptions are given according to what happened or was said there according to biblical literature. Scripture therefore offers what Campbell describes as a “mediating function” for those medieval writers describing Palestine. Through this function, place is defined by anecdote often familiar to the Christian reader from biblical or apocryphal texts. As Campbell asserts, “This maneuver at one stroke domesticates the place thus ‘described’ *and* provides the thrill of strangeness: the pilgrim writer can actually say ‘I am here’ – here in that place purely heard of or meditated on [until] now, here in the pages of a Book.”¹⁰⁸ Clearly, pilgrims hoped to find some essential understanding of their God and even their own sacred literature by inhabiting the same physical spaces as Christ once had. This process of mentally or physically inhabiting a

geographical territory in the hopes of identifying with past events or peoples has been described by the term “geopiety,” connoting a profound connection to one’s place on earth. This devotion to land is mixed with a reverence for the power of that land to define an individual or collective group.

To these ideas of land and identity, Yi-Fu Tuan adds the aspect of “reciprocity” whereby sacrifice is deemed necessary in order that the prospective in-dweller may feel that he or she has done something to deserve that land.¹⁰⁹ Gillian Overing and Marijane Osborn have also found that cultures which incorporate a passionate connection to place into their religions often perceive that land-based power must be earned.¹¹⁰ The notion that land, particularly the Holy Land, must be obtained by merit is especially apparent in fourteenth-century writing about Jerusalem. Mandeville encapsulates the idea of earning a metaphorical reward through spiritual reform when he describes the Vale Perilous toward the end of his account. In this valley, he says he encountered the dangers of blood-thirsty giants, adders, and devils. When Mandeville enters into the valley, his journey is akin to the journey through the metaphorical Valley of Death of Psalm 23. Mandeville’s passage through the valley mirrors the movement of the pilgrim or crusader to Jerusalem; as he explains, “alwey goode cristen men þat bep stable in þe fey may go in þat valey wipoute grete harm and þei be clene yschryue and blesse hem wip tokenyng of þe cross, for þan schal not deulis dere hem” (121/3–6). Like the Mandeville character, pilgrims and crusaders prepared in similar ways for their journeys, signing themselves with the cross, hearing Mass, and being shriven of their sins before setting out. As we have seen, their success in the earthly journey was thought to mirror their progress in the spiritual one. Likewise, it was believed that the Christian soul, as I will discuss in the next chapter, traveled through human life unscathed only if it was “clene” of heart and protected by Christ.¹¹¹ Mandeville extends the similarities between his journey through the valley to those traveling to Jerusalem. Like the pilgrim and crusader who endured the perils of the road, he says he puts his body at risk, literally “in auenture,” to cross the valley. As if to emphasize the dangerous journey, he writes that only ten out of his fourteen companions survive it.¹¹²

If one considers Mandeville’s valley crossing as a microcosm of medieval Christian itinerant devotion, then it is clear that crusade, pilgrimage, and the very life of the soul were considered tests of faith, and that the Celestial Jerusalem was the reward to be earned. The public

exercise of actually going on crusade and pilgrimage was an outward representation of this challenge; in contrast, private actions such as rehearsing, meditating on, and writing about Jerusalem – as components of the inner crusade and pilgrimage – were viewed as necessary for the success in the public endeavor.¹¹³ In this episode, the Terrestrial Jerusalem becomes an important battleground in which to earn the celestial city. As one of many readings accessible to its audience, Mandeville's text shows a western medieval Christian desire to inhabit both the Celestial and Terrestrial Jerusalems. That the pilgrims and crusaders were imagining this Holy Land together suggests that the exercise of "remembering" the first-century Jerusalem played a vital role in hopes to conquer that city in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. As this chapter demonstrates, the *Book* gives its English audience a specific way to imagine its potential success in both the real and virtual crusades and pilgrimages. In the versions of the *Book* discussed here, England is identified as the country both responsible for and deserving of Jerusalem, making the holy city a symbol of this community and its incipient nationhood. In this light, the author of *TBJM* was unique, for unlike other itinerary-writers of his time, he not only portrayed the Terrestrial Jerusalem as a physical goal, but he also presented place as a spiritual destination, offering medieval pilgrims the means to use the *Book* devotionally, to look inward and make the celestial city their own.

*Beyond the Celestial and Terrestrial Jerusalem:
the Promised Land in western Christendom*

The [previous chapter](#) has discussed the ways in which ancestral and hereditary claims to Jerusalem were seen to rely on ideals of communal morality, and that the Papal Schism and Hundred Years War, among other events, were held up as moral entanglements of a spectacular nature, threatening English associations with Jerusalem in all four of its senses. In the creation of an English identity separate from that of the French, and likewise distant from that of those regions tributary to France, much depended on the portrayal of English morality. To this end, English writers modeled the very forms that French and Frankish writers had already employed for nearly seven centuries to distinguish themselves from their many neighbors as a chosen people, honored by God. This tradition was reinforced during the crusades, for, as many of the crusading chronicles by French authors attest, the First Crusade was fought and won primarily by the Franks. Such claims to divine authority through a selectively recorded crusading history represents, as I have argued, a bid for sacral power. As the crusade chronicles remembering Pope Urban's speech recount, and as King Richard I explained in his letters to Saladin, or as Sir John Mandeville's *Book* later echoes, Jerusalem deserved adoration for its place in the Passion, but also conferred divine favor on its owners. This textually constructed, sacral reality defined communal identity by means of creating shared memories of the Holy Land and the crusades. Moreover, this discursive mode did not end in the thirteenth century with the early crusades, but was adopted by English writers of the later Middle Ages in order to recraft English history by reshaping specific events and individuals as sacred, and as deeply interested in Jerusalem.

In this closing chapter, I will show that the English construction of Jerusalem-based heritage, formed from the very real travels of English pilgrims and the textual memorials about English pilgrims and crusaders,

was successful in a certain sense. Indeed, French writer Philippe de Mézières, writing at the close of the fourteenth century, acknowledges the English as equal partners with France, and addresses the English people as if their cultural distinctiveness and sacral identity were firmly in place. In his letter to King Richard II, Philippe views the English at once as a people separate from the French, and yet related by divine kingship, exegetically destined to control Jerusalem together. This interrelationship between politics, practical warfare, and medieval Christian theology produces the range of literatures which will be discussed here, including Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* and its Middle English translation, *The Pilgrimage of the Lyfe of the Manhode*, and Philippe de Mézières' *Songe du Vieil Pèlerin* and *Epistre au Roi Richard*. Because much of this study has assessed views of English identity against a medieval depiction of the French people as a moral and religious Other, it seems fitting to close this work with a chapter wherein the Other is again reappropriated as a component of the Self. Therefore, the texts discussed in this chapter show that the image of Jerusalem, which has been regarded often in this study as a means to express national distinctiveness, also functions as a touchstone of international unity. As the [previous chapter](#) has demonstrated, Mandeville's *Book* separates English Christians from their European counterparts by implying that the English are more deserving of divine favor than other peoples. The later, Latin Vulgate version of this work in England, however, also allows a more global view: that God's regard of England depends on that country's success in maintaining peace with its neighbors. France and its allies, then, are to become partners with England, yoked with them in the quest for the Terrestrial and Celestial Jerusalems.

Moving toward a broader perspective, the following texts present a plan that salvation is to be earned by peaceful engagement within the Christian world at large. The sacral identity of England retains its importance, as is seen in the continued references to pilgrimage and crusade, but the goal of peace, and the lengths that will be undertaken to achieve it, are presented as the true test of the crown and community's virtue. The French texts that I examine here were borrowed, translated, and viewed as influential among contemporary English audiences. While these works present domestic and foreign peace as their aims, they also describe a very violent crusade to attain it. In one of the chief poems to be discussed here, Guillaume de Deguileville's *Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, the traditionally unarmed pilgrim must take up weapons as a crusader against the brutal onslaught of the vices before he can win internal peace,

not only in the heavenly Jerusalem, but also in his earthly home. In a text of a different genre, Philippe de Mézières urges his French and English readers to take up very real crusading in the Middle East in order to restore domestic, political peace between Christian nations. In both narratives, the uses of the Jerusalem relation are different from those mentioned elsewhere in this study. Indeed, Guillaume and Philippe both show Jerusalem in different guises, beyond Cassian's four senses. According to Guillaume, the holy city represents a personal, internal state of stability gained on earth (for him, in the cloister); likewise, the main character's eventual admission to the celestial city will be the ultimate sign that the earlier state of inner peace has been accomplished.¹ Like Guillaume, Philippe also reifies Jerusalem as a symbol of peace, but on a much larger scale. The concord described in Philippe's work reinscribes Jerusalem: in the abstract, that city is depicted as a symbol of international harmony among political communities; in a very concrete way, attainment of the real Jerusalem will be the sign that this "global" unity has been achieved.

Both these authors adapt then-traditional uses of Jerusalem, drawing the spiritual center away from that city and placing it instead in England, north-western Europe, Cyprus, and other "colonial" locales on the Mediterranean. These audiences are encouraged to view themselves not only as inhabiting a new Jerusalem in their domestic lives, but also as living in the Promised Land itself – that is, by way of imagination, they would inhabit the land including and surrounding the city of Jerusalem. For Philippe, then, Jerusalem is absorbed into the much larger sanctuarial network of the Promised Land, perhaps meant to accommodate the application of his analogy to expansive regions of continental Europe, England, and elsewhere. In creating this sense of unity, both Guillaume and Philippe's writings are of particular interest, for their works illustrate a renegotiation of the symbolic valences of the Terrestrial and Celestial Jerusalems as representations of individual and communal peace. By exploring these texts, it is possible to see how crusade and pilgrimage influenced devotional and political literatures of the fourteenth century, enabling a new kind of *communitas* that intended to restore unity between France and England as equally deserving heirs of Jerusalem, and as nations mutually responsible for the joint success of this endeavor. As equal participants in virtual and actual crusades, English and French readers are invited by Guillaume and Philippe to renegotiate old memories of crusading and to form new ones based on mutuality instead of competition.

Jerusalem as representative of peace is by no means new to Guillaume, Philippe, or other writers of the fourteenth century. An earlier exemplar of this use occurs when Anselm writes, c. 1086, to a young man who is planning to visit the holy city, advising him to “put aside the Jerusalem which is now the vision not of peace but of tribulation . . . and begin the way to the heavenly Jerusalem which is the vision of peace.”² Likewise, late medieval writers, such as Walter Hilton, viewed Jerusalem similarly.³ Such sentiments regarding peace seem especially resonant with a country that was being bankrupted by war, torn by internal and external strife, and urged toward political and spiritual reform by its contemporary writers. As I argue here, Jerusalem, as an emblematic symbol of harmony, held special significance as a political ideal. Through this discussion I hope to show that the English medieval use of Jerusalem was acquiring added meaning. Because of this change, the goal, originally the Celestial and Terrestrial Jerusalem, was moving elsewhere, toward political stability in one’s own country and toward peace among Christian communities locally and abroad. These texts show that, by the end of the fourteenth century, devotion for the “homeland” of Jerusalem was reinterpreted as a proto-nationalistic manifestation of *patria caelestis et terrestris*.

GUILLAUME DE DEGUILEVILLE’S JERUSALEM AS AN
INTERNAL DESTINATION OF PRIVATE PEACE

In the assessment of Jerusalem as a medieval cultural signifier of personal and communal peace, I turn first to the internal pilgrimage and crusade as portrayed by Guillaume de Deguileville, a monk at the monastery of Chaalis. His poem, entitled *Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, appeared in France in two recensions, the first of which was written in 1330–1, the second in 1335.⁴ Shortly thereafter, it gained popularity in England as *The Pilgrimage of the Lyfe of the Manhode*, a medieval English prose translation of the original poem. Both works track the allegorical journey of the soul through life in the guise of an earthly pilgrim.⁵ Like the Mandeville narrator in his account of the Vale Perilous, the main character of the *Lyfe* finds himself forced to make a journey where both soul and mortal life are imperiled. Kathryn Walls and Rosamund Tuve have demonstrated the enthusiastic reception of these texts in England, tracing at least nineteen extant manuscripts in their various versions.⁶ Audiences in France also appreciated the work in its original form, as suggested by its existence in over fifty French manuscripts.⁷ The Middle English *Pilgrimage of the Lyfe of the Manhode*, hereafter referred to as the *Lyfe*, appeared in England in

the late fourteenth century in its two recensions, the first of which may have been falsely attributed to John Lydgate and later edited by F. J. Furnivall, the second of which has been edited by Avril Henry.⁸

In the *Lyfe*, the narrator describes the journey of the soul's life on earth as an allegorical pilgrimage. This type of journey can be traced to both the *Enarrationes in Psalmos* and the *De civitate Dei*, in which Augustine portrays the soul as a "peregrinus" – a pilgrim on earth hastening toward Jerusalem, the house of God.⁹ This particular allegory still held currency in the late medieval period, as is suggested by the popularity of the *Vie* in France and the *Lyfe* in England, but also as is evident in the uses of this image in other works, such as Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* (mentioned above), which compares the perils of Christian life to travel to Jerusalem by English travelers, and in *Pearl*, in which Pearl's father sees the New Jerusalem in a vision.¹⁰ For its framing a search for salvation in terms of pilgrimage, the *Lyfe* is also known to have influenced William Langland's poem, *Piers Plowman*, written between 1365 and 1386.¹¹ Indeed, the parallels between *Piers Plowman* and the original *Vie* are so close that John Burrow refers to the *Vie* as *Piers Plowman*'s equivalent in fourteenth-century France.¹² As both Guillaume and Langland suggest, in the quest for salvation, physical pilgrimage alone is not sufficient and must be taken up as an internal, "goostly" exercise as well. To depict this type of travel, the *Lyfe* shows the dream vision of a priest as his soul journeys toward the Celestial Jerusalem in the guise of a pilgrim. The allegory of humanity's spiritual journey from birth to death is noted by the translator of the poetic text: "Trusteth ther-for, ye folk of euery age, / That yowre lyff her ys but a pylgrymage."¹³ In the *Lyfe*, as pilgrims approach their deaths, they draw closer either to the city of Jerusalem or Babylon, or to heaven and hell, respectively. This journey is clearly marked as a violent struggle, for the protagonist (Pilgrim) is prepared for an armed pilgrimage. Through these images, Guillaume's text shows that although all fourteenth-century Christians were considered pilgrims, some had also come to see themselves, at least metaphorically, as crusaders.¹⁴

The *Lyfe* relates closely to Jerusalem in terms of the city's symbolic representations; its nature as an allegorical destination available to everyone is reinforced by Guillaume's identifying all humanity as itinerant travelers on earth. At the beginning of his narrative, Guillaume addresses all people as pilgrims, describing them as those "which han noon hows," or no real home, even if they are "riche . . . poore . . . fooles . . . kynges oþer queenes, alle þei ben pilgrymes."¹⁵ Jerusalem, then, as "home," is shown both as a point of origin and a faraway destination.

As important as the holy city is in the *Lyfe*, it occupies a valence in a mnemonic, devotional system different from those discussed earlier in this study. Gone are the descriptions of specific buildings, stones, footprints, and places where Christ ate, preached, was bound, crucified, and buried. Guillaume's city is part of a memorial system, but is not necessarily reliant on place, or event- and scripture-based description. In the *Lyfe*, Jerusalem is a functioning component of memory technology as an emblem. In this way, the city is viewed as a whole, from a distance, rather than serving as an interactive museum of the first-century experience. As I will discuss, his vision of Jerusalem is textually produced and maintained by ekphrastic, biblical images. For Guillaume, the finely tuned details of the city, its landscape, and architecture – as portrayed in actual pilgrimages such as those by William Wey, for instance – are of little significance, and are barely mentioned in his account.

Guillaume makes plain the conceptual nature of his Jerusalem by stating that he views it in a mirror, thereby suggesting to medieval readers that this is an imagined Jerusalem, and the reflected image represents a spiritual state of existence, or state of mind.¹⁶ Such association with mirrors would have offered important information to the text's audiences, reiterating Jerusalem's availability to all who could imagine it.¹⁷ Popular medieval understanding about sight held that visual images were processed through three chambers of the mind; these structures consisted of imagination, memory, and reason, with imagination occupying the frontal compartment.¹⁸ The faculty of the imagination was thought to encounter the image first, therefore functioning as a mirror, reflecting the viewed image directly into the mind. By observing Jerusalem in a mirror in Guillaume's work, the audience may interpret the narrator's glimpse of the city as a mediated likeness, meant to stand as the reflection of the real Jerusalem, and therefore as suitable material for memory storage and later meditation. The view of the holy city in the mirror signals its accessibility by the memory, locating its position as an object meant to be carried and constantly recollected. Indeed, as long as the main character of the piece can recall this image, he enjoys success; his setbacks occur when he absent-mindedly loses sight of this goal, and his sins impair his memory. Jerusalem in the text is further framed not only by the mirror, but also by a type of dream vision, for the narrator himself says that the visions of the city and his subsequent pilgrimage appeared to him as he slept. Such depictions imply Guillaume's intended reception of his narrative as something of importance, having possible divine origins. Through the frames of the mirror and dream, then, readers would understand that

Guillaume is speaking authoritatively about the celestial city and its apt placement as the focus of spiritual meditation.

Guillaume's presentation of a visual Jerusalem is heavily inflected by the ekphrastic images of it that would have been available to him in biblical scripture, again making it apt for memory storage. This textuality is visible when he describes the celestial city as an attractive destination, saying that it is "gret wihout mesure" and paved with gold:

þe foundement and þe masounrye of þe citee was set on hy and of newe stones it was mad, and an hy wal enclosede it aboute. Many þer were withinne of howses, of places and of dwellinges: [þere] was al gladschipe, ioye withoute sorwe; [þere] hadde iche wight . . . of alle goodshipes more þan euere þei cowde aske or thinke. (I.24–30)

Certainly, this rendering varies greatly from what actual pilgrims saw, as described in ch. 1 of this study. Guillaume's description of Jerusalem, filled with mansions and surrounded by walls of precious stones, is congruent with its biblical depiction in John's Revelations.¹⁹ The emotional tenor of the city also makes it attractive, for in that place he describes a general sense of well-being. However, he also forms a picture of attempted interaction with the city, and this image conveys Jerusalem's position as a closed citadel. He sees that those trying to enter the city are actually impeded at every turn: a Cherub stands guard at the gate, "which heeld in his hand a foorbrushed swerd wel grownden with two scharpe egges, al skirmynge and turnynge" (I.32–5).²⁰ Guillaume writes that no one may pass that way without being killed or mortally wounded. Yet he notices that others have found a way to circumvent this fierce porter: he sees St. Augustine leaning over the walls of the city and helping his friends to enter the city from a window. Along with Augustine are others going about the same task, such as St. Benedict and St. Francis, who lower cords and ladders for the supplicants outside to clamber up and into the city. Finally, the narrator spies St. Peter letting poor pilgrims enter the city through a small gate. Guillaume says that he finds this particular entrance attractive "for þe commune avauntage þat alle folk hadden þere" (I.95–6). At that moment, he says, he decided to become a pilgrim. Through this portion of the narrative, it becomes clear that the clergy were perceived (by other clergy) to reach Jerusalem, or to attain salvation more easily than their lay counterparts. Moreover, among the laity, the poor in Guillaume's vision also seem to have an advantage. What is most notable here is that the Jerusalem of the text is accessible to those Christians who wish to enter. Guillaume depicts the holy city as a stronghold representing heaven, but it

is still permeable to outsiders. In the *Lyfe*, an approachable Jerusalem is necessary to ensure that those from without continue to attempt to gain access, just as Guillaume's narrator does.

The scenes of preparation for the trip suggest Guillaume's almost ritualistic interpretation of everyday life; here, mundane activities and bits of travel lore become symbolically laden facets of the allegorical pilgrim exercise. For example, once the Guillaume character commits to pilgrimage, he needs scrip and staff – figuratively, these objects represent Faith and Hope. Nor will his pilgrimage be successful without Grace of God, an allegorized figure who teaches him about the dangers along his route (I.181–3, 186–7). She describes the first obstacle, the Mediterranean Sea, in a figurative sense:

“þou wolt go into Jerusalem and þou shuldest passe þe grete see (þe grete see is [þis] world heere which is right ful of gret anoye of tempestes, and of tormentes, and of grete wyndes).” (I.227–30)

Such details are evocative of an account discussed in the first chapter of this study, wherein the anonymous pilgrim recounts the many shipwrecks and storms he endured on the Mediterranean, and how he believed he was saved from these perils by none other than the grace of God. Because of the rich imagery with which Guillaume overlays his depiction of the ship crossing, it is highly probable that he had heard tales of such experiences or had read about them. As will be seen, however, these lively details serve to emphasize the interior work of resisting the “tempests” of everyday life that threaten to interrupt one's pilgrimage. In the world of the text, Guillaume the narrator is consciously adapting pilgrim imagery to reflect a life journey wherein the Celestial Jerusalem, or heaven, can be reached only with divine help.

Assistance while on pilgrimage in the *Lyfe* is delivered in the shape of ecclesiastical ritual. In order to prepare Guillaume the dreamer, that is, Pilgrim, for his trip, he must first be baptized and signed with the cross.²¹ Historically both armed and unarmed pilgrims received blessings and were signed before setting out on their adventures. Here in the poem, Grace of God takes Pilgrim to visit her sergeant who baptizes and crosses him, enabling him to, in her words, “conquere” Jerusalem; as Grace of God explains:

“for þat þow shalt þe lasse drede þine enemyes he shal sette a crosse upon þi breste, anooper bihynde þee and also anooper upon þin heed for þou shalt þe lasse drede all mischeues. He shal enoynte þee as a champioun, so þat þou shalt not preyse at a bodde all þine enemyes.” (I.251–6)

Through the blessing, Pilgrim's initially unarmed pilgrimage is transformed and strengthened by militaristic devices. According to Guillaume, Christians are "armed" to do battle against their own sinfulness in order to "conquer," or arrive at, the Celestial Jerusalem upon their deaths (I.251). In the narrative, baptism becomes a means to crusade, for, as the writer suggests, being baptized is tantamount to being anointed as a "champion." This use of militant imagery in this late medieval narrative demonstrates an expansion of metaphorical possibilities in the language of devotion because of Jerusalem's relations to war. Indeed, the text shows that by the fourteenth century such rhetoric was already so ingrained that the sacraments themselves – here, baptism and the application of oil – were perceived, among other things, in terms of crusade.

Other sacramental imagery in the narrative emphasizes the violence involved in the spiritual quest for peace. As Guillaume shows, physical pilgrimage was a test of spiritual and bodily endurance, whereby each day brought with it the potential for the discomforts of life on the road, not to mention mortal peril. The close ties between itinerant devotion and suffering were well known, and inflect the portrayal of the internal journey discussed here. During the late medieval period, the sacrament of penance could be fulfilled by means of pilgrimage; likewise, in Guillaume's text, the character, Penitence, boasts that she employs pilgrimage to bring Christians to confession and to chastise them for their sins (I.1242, 1263–4). Yet Guillaume also implies that the pain suffered on these travels is not simply punishment, but also a valuable means through which to identify with Christ. Thus, along with performing penance, Pilgrim is instructed to play the events of the Passion before his inner eye, thus aligning his suffering on pilgrimage with Christ's pain during the Passion events.²² In the symbolic relations of the poem, then, Penitence keeps company with Charity, and Charity claims responsibility for causing Christ's Passion:

"I made him bounde to þe pileer and corowned with thornes; I made him sprede hise armes in þe cros, dispoile him and opene his side; þe feet and þe handes I made tacche of him and perce hem with grete nailes." (I.1327–9)

Here, Pilgrim's very model of endurance is Christ himself, and the place of the suffering Christ is of primary importance to the pilgrim's success. Indeed, he is to meditate on the Passion, keeping it at the forefront of his memory, recollecting it through the imagination in the same way that he envisions Jerusalem in a mirror. Both the images of Jerusalem and the suffering Christ are emblems of his goal and serve as protection for his

mind and body. Significantly, Pilgrim's armor bearer is Memory, and it is only when she cannot function that Pilgrim's journey is in danger of failing.

The important relationship between meditation and pilgrimage is further explicated through Guillaume's discussion of the eucharist. Along with showcasing the traditional images of the Passion with emphasis on the *arma Christi*, as seen in the quotation above, Charity expands her symbolic role in the crucifixion events by extending the liturgical connections between the Passion and the eucharist. She describes herself as a miller who brought Christ to earth, ground him up in his crucifixion, and then baked him into bread as food for pilgrims (I.1534–80).²³ Through this description of Charity as Mill of the Host, Guillaume places pilgrimage and the eucharist in a more direct relationship, and the suffering on pilgrimage takes on sacramental associations, as Pilgrim enacts his own *passio*. Yet the image also carries other meanings vital to the logic of the piece: in a literal sense the writer suggests that those making external pilgrimage are fed by eating this sacrament, but also internally at a devotional level, pilgrims are nourished by it in their spiritual lives (I.1491–2). Thus, when Pilgrim is instructed to keep the bread, or body of Christ, in his scribe, he is in effect being told to uphold the sacraments for his entire "journey" through life. As Grace of God says:

"Michel is bred necessarie to þee to þe viage þou hast to doone: for bifore þou mowe come to þe place þer þou hast þi desire, bi ful wikkede pases þou shalt go, and wikkede herberwes þou shalt fynde, so þat ofte þou shalt haue misese if þou bere not þis bred . . . siþe if þou wolt þou miht putte of þe brede in þi scrippe, and after as good pilgrym sette þee to þi wey." (I.1807–11, 1821–3)

Here, the eucharist is said to help Christians avoid the moral pitfalls they may encounter in life, and which might keep the pilgrim from the "place he most desires."

Along with recognizing the arduous and sometimes violent nature of armed and unarmed pilgrimage, Guillaume makes clear that, in the meditative journey to Jerusalem, successful pilgrims will wield spiritual weaponry. The scope of these requirements may be understood from the arming scene when Grace of God gives the dreamer his pilgrim gear and then prepares him for war. She offers him a "burdoun," or staff, and a "scrippe," which was a pouch carried by pilgrims. The scribe, she says, is Faith, "without which þow shalt neuere do jurney þat ouht shal availe" (I.1890–1). The staff is called "Esperaunce," or Hope. In giving the pilgrim his staff and scribe, the writer differentiates this equipment from that

intended for battle, for when Pilgrim complains that his staff is not tipped with an iron spike, Grace of God chides him for misinterpreting its function: “burdoun is not to smite with ne to fyghte with, but withoute more to lene [þee] to” (I.2070–1). It is only after making this distinction that she arms the pilgrim, both to defend himself and to “discomfort” his enemies. Thus, before he begins his journey, he girds himself with special spiritual armor like that described by Paul in Ephesians 6:11; in the *Lyfē*, he dons a doublet, habergeon, gorger, helm, targe, gloves, and a sword (I.2078–452). Grace of God explains the divine attributes of the different weapons and arms, naming them according to the virtues. For instance, the doublet is Patience:

“whiche is maad to suffre peynes and to susteyne grete prikkinges, for to be as [an] anevelte þat stireth not for þe strok of a feþer, [for to resseyue] and [endure] al with good wille, withoute murmurynge.” (I.2115–18)

In order to amplify the importance of the doublet, she describes Christ as a warrior, “armed” with it while he was being crucified (I.2127), using it to fight his enemies:

“This doublet wered on Ihesus whan in þe crosse for þee he was hanged: vpon him it was rihted and prikked and mesured aright at his rihtes.” (I.2119–21)

This information not only increases the value of the armor, but also helps the pilgrim identify with Christ, for the piece is said to have been crafted exactly to Christ’s specifications. This image of Christ doing battle in the crucifixion is not new, and appears in liturgical and devotional writings.²⁴ Yet the violent Christ is significant in the narrative, for with this rhetorical shift toward militaristic language, metaphorical pilgrimage on earth as informed by Augustine is translated into a much more aggressive affair, and, through his arming scene, Pilgrim acquires the expanded capacity to affect his chances of salvation.

In his attempt to be like Christ, Pilgrim has a wealth of weapons at his disposal. The helm signifies Temperance of the senses, and, he says, “sumtime was cleped Helme of Saluacioun, of which Seint Poul amonesteth þat men don it on here hedes” (I.2247–8). The gorger works together with the helm to restrain Gluttony and evil speech (I.2249–82). Next, the gloves represent Continenence and are meant to keep the wearer away from moral compromise (I.2283–318). Along with this protective gear, Pilgrim’s targe, meant to be held ever before him, is Prudence (I.2426–52). Here, it is significant that much of this armor is represented by spiritual attributes which would have kept the pilgrim from temptations

to sin. This hope to resist moral compromise echoes medieval crusading theology which held that those who were militarily successful in the Holy Land were those Christians who kept the biblical laws faithfully. Likewise, the comparison extends to the inner crusade, wherein the soul successful in reaching the Celestial Jerusalem has remained faithful to Christian laws during the pilgrimage represented by life itself. The text illustrates how what had earlier been a metaphor in Paul's exhortation to arms became reality in the crusades; subsequently, these same crusades were used to embellish the vocabulary of devotion. The *Lyfe*, then, leaves actual, unarmed pilgrimage behind and presents in its place a character who attains the Celestial Jerusalem by taking on the attributes of a crusader in spiritualized form.

In portraying armed pilgrimage, Guillaume adapts Augustine's traditional image of the human soul as (unarmed) pilgrim, performing allegorized pilgrimage by living earthly life. In addition, Guillaume's work shows the influence of works like Prudentius' fourth-century *Psychomachia*, and is further enriched by the intersections of medieval theology regarding actual crusading and chivalric warfare. Through these models, Guillaume raises the level of agency on the part of the medieval traveler, encouraging an identification with a suffering Christ, who is likewise perceived as aggressive and heroic. For example, Grace of God adds to the pilgrim's strength, offering him a habergeon; this is certainly not the traditional accompaniment for unarmed pilgrims. She avers that it serves Christ's most faithful servants in situations of war:

"This haubergeoun hatteth Force whiche Ihesu Cristes champions wreden in old time, which weren so stable in werre and in tournament, and so stronge, þat þei setten þe deth at nouht." (I.2199–203)

Like Christ who is described as a warrior on the Cross, the references to war and "Cristes champions" in the quotation mentioned above include past Christian military heroes such as Roland and Charlemagne from chronicle and romance. Similar sentiments are expressed when Grace of God mentions the sword with which she subsequently arms Pilgrim, referring to this weapon as Justice and speaking of its power: "Neuere," she says, "was [Ogiers] swerd ne Rowlondes ne Olyueeres so vertuowse ne so mihti" (I.2325–6). Such references clarify the influence of crusading lore on devotional writing; these comparisons increase the stakes of the battle between good and evil, and add more excitement to the narrative – here, would-be pilgrims have the opportunity to imagine themselves as triumphant, legendary crusading heroes.

Significantly, Pilgrim's sword is meant to be directed at the adversary from within, represented by sinful desires. As an example, Grace of God reminds Pilgrim of St. Benedict who injured his own body in order to subdue it:

"for whan he sygh þat his body þat was tempted wolde not obeye to him as good emperour and as good governour, with þe swerd he smot it so cruelliche, and punished it, þat wel nygh he hadd slayn it: wherfore it was neuere afterward rebelle ne inobedient to his comaundement." (I.2341–6)

In keeping with the use of Justice, or the sword, in self-rule, Grace of God describes the internal adversary as more deadly than the external:

"This swerd þou shalt bere and bi it þou shalt defende þee from alle þilke þat I haue seyde þe bifore, whiche been [þi] priuee enemyes: for enemy more daungerous, more shrewed ne more perilous þow ne miht haue þan [þi] priuees and þilke þat ben nigh þee." (I.2346–50)

Thus Pilgrim is instructed to strike himself with his sword, figuratively, in order to fight against his desires, or his "priuee enemyes": "So whan þou feelest any rebelle and go ayens þi saluacioun, smite him so harde þat he be no more so fers ayens þee" (I.2350–3). This statement has many implications, for in it Guillaume is sanctioning the use of force against oneself in ways traditionally reserved for conflicts with a human, religious Other. Pilgrim, therefore, must fight an internal crusade in order to overcome himself or other parts of the Christian community detracting from his campaign. By learning to regard himself as Other, he hopes to likewise understand how to overmaster and control his desires.

As a participant in an internal crusade, one of Pilgrim's greatest enemies is, in fact, his own body. Reason explains that Pilgrim is a soul encased in physical matter, and the fact that he has become a slave to this material substance is the root of his problems. Because of this division of the soul and the physical being, Pilgrim is loath to put on his armor and becomes vulnerable to the attacks of the Seven Deadly Sins. As Reason has it, the Christian God placed Pilgrim's soul in a material form as a type of trial:

"He made þee, for a gost þou art, and putte þee in þe body þat þou art: þerinne he putte þee for to enhabite a while, and for to preeve, to wite soothliche if þou woldest be vertuous and knyghtliche, to wit wheþer þou woldest *venquise* þe body or yelde þee to him." (II.3240–4) [my emphasis]

Here, Deguileville's rationale is made plain: not only is earthly pilgrimage a metaphor for human life on earth, but also, the soul's embodiment is a

test or battle, judging whether that spirit is fit for heaven. The contest is won, then, only if the soul can “vanquish” the body. Such an explanation relies on the militaristic imagery rife in the poem and evokes a crusade of the soul, waged against the wiles of the flesh. While the imagery of warfare would have been apt for an audience associated with and steeped in the ideas of crusading, one is tempted to speculate that this rendering of the soul’s division from the physical form also would have had some resonance with an audience familiar with the Papal Schism. As in Mandeville’s *Book*, whose narrator speaks of the sins of “division,” namely “Envy” and “Coveteise,” as causes of the Schism, just so Pilgrim, because of the division in his own soul, suffers defeat at the hands of some of the Deadly Sins.

This division between soul and body is put to the test in the poem, and the physical being is made the adversary of successful pilgrimage. As Reason tells Pilgrim, the soul and body have their own separate agenda: “þou and þi bodi ben tweyne, for tweyne willes ben not of oon but þei ben of tweyne: þat wot eche wit” (II.3205–7). To this end, Reason endeavors to give Pilgrim a taste of existence free from the confines of his bodily form in order to illustrate its corporeal limitations. Here, Deguileville describes an almost comical scene where Reason pushes and pulls on Pilgrim to separate body and soul as if she were trying to remove a tight-fitting hat:

And þanne Resoun sette hond to me, and I putte me in hire baundoun. She drowh and I shof. So miche we dide, she and I, þat þe contracte was ouerthrowe fro me and I vncharged. Whan vntrussed þus I was, I rauished into þe eyr an hygh. Me thouht I fleih, and þat nothing I weyede. At my wille oueral I wente, and up and down, and fer I seyh. Nothing in þe world (as me thouhte) was heled ne hid fro me. Gladed I was gretlich. (II.3348–55)

Pilgrim, “untrussed,” relishes the freedom from his material existence and seems to take to the air in effortless flight. He also finds peace; as he says, this experience gave him great cheer. It is at this point that Pilgrim himself acknowledges the limitations of his physical form. When he looks down at it he says “I seigh my bodi þat it was dunge, and to preise it was nothing” (II.3359). Pilgrim realizes that his body is to blame for his spiritual failures, for his own flesh is too weak to carry the spiritual armor. As Reason presents Pilgrim’s physicality, she warns: “þou seest wel þin enemy. Now þou knowest him wel: þis is he þat suffreth þee not to bere ne endure þin armure . . . and yildeth [þee] venquised” (II.3369–72). Reason calls the flesh a threat to Pilgrim’s spiritual well-being; it is the body, she says, his

“aduersarie,” which undermines his intentions for good (II.3423–4). In light of these dangers, Reason tells him to train his body, to make it submit to his soul by drinking and eating little, working hard, performing self-flagellation, praying, and weeping (II.3439–43). Through her advice, Reason illustrates belief systems set forth in medieval Christian theology, stipulating that self-denial and discipline were actually a means for the soul to overcome bodily desires. In this advice, Pilgrim has his solution as to why he found his spiritual armor so overwhelming: he was carrying it with a sinful body that was working at odds with his soul.

As the threats of the body against the soul are enlivened by crusade rhetoric, so are the dangers of the Seven Deadly Sins and the Devil. In his depiction of the militant pilgrim, Guillaume highlights the scope of force needed to ward off these temptations. For the protagonist of the poem, this bellicose striving will be relieved by life in the cloister. Before this rescue, however, Pilgrim suffers mightily. Guillaume introduces the torments of the soul as if they were real individuals who assail Pilgrim during the allegorical journey through life. For instance, he encounters deadly Avarice (III.4886–9) who wrestles him violently to the ground and wounds him. Likewise, the perils of the Mediterranean Sea are represented by Satan depicted as a fisherman trying to ensnare Christians in its depths (IV.6245–6). Finally, Pilgrim is offered respite from his journey by taking religious orders. This relief occurs when he is struck down by Tribulation, and Grace of God offers him passage on a ship called Religion. The ship is described with detailed, highly symbolic language; it is held together with the bonds of Observance and “smale comaunde-mentes whiche ben restreynynge and keepere of þe grette” (IV.6219–32). Grace of God governs the ship: it is filled with houses, the mast is the cross of Christ, and the wind is the Holy Ghost (IV.6744–8). The buildings and castles aboard are actually monastic houses, Pilgrim notes, “eiþer of Cluigni or of Cistiaus or in anoþer þat to þi lust shal leede þe þider [to Jerusalem] at þi wille” (IV.6751–3).²⁵ After gaining admittance to the ship, Infirmary and Old Age suddenly pounce on Pilgrim (IV.7059). When he is taken to the infirmary to rest, Grace of God visits him and relays the message that Death is approaching, therefore Pilgrim is nearing his goal of the Celestial Jerusalem. Reiterating her teaching from the beginning of the book, Grace of God says that the body cannot enter the celestial city: “þou mostest be . . . tobroke in twey peeces: þat oon is þe bodi, þat ooper þe soule. Þei mihten nouht passen togideres” (IV.7250–2). “Despoiled” of his physicality, she says, he will be taken in through St. Peter’s Gate which he saw at the beginning of his dream.

Death moves forward to apply his scythe to split Pilgrim's soul from his body, but at that moment the narrator awakens to the tolling of the convent bell; he gets out of bed and attends Matins in Chaalis (IV.7271–94).

REIFYING THE JERUSALEM PILGRIMAGE: PROGRESSING BY
DISPOSITION, TRANSCENDING LANDSCAPE

Like most people in monastic orders, Guillaume was not allowed to leave the monastery to go on pilgrimage; however, he made an allegorical journey through his text instead. In his presentation of this type of travel, Guillaume may have been influenced by an earlier Cistercian text, the *De laude novae militiae ad milites templi*, a letter written by Bernard of Clairvaux between 1129 and 1136 in support of the foundation of the Templar Order.²⁶ While Bernard supports actual crusading throughout the letter, in closing he remarks on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, revealing a remarkable appreciation of its internal practice. Bernard praises the important locations, speaking first of Jerusalem, then Bethlehem, Nazareth, the Mount of Olivet, Valley of Josephat, the Jordan River, Calvary, the Holy Sepulchre, Bethphage, and Bethany. Unlike the authors discussed in ch. 1 of this study, he does not include physical descriptions of these locales, but rather uses place names as chapter headings before describing matters of biblical doctrine. For instance, in the Valley of Josephat he instructs his audience to think of God's mercy and wisdom; while at the Mount of Calvary, he instructs them to meditate about their own sinfulness.²⁷ Moreover, Bernard produces the sites in the same order in which many real pilgrims to Jerusalem would have visited them. Such emblematic use of the holy places shows how they were employed as storehouses of memory to remind the reader of specific messages and doctrine. This type of virtual travel to Jerusalem proceeds not by a visualization of the specific features of a geographical landscape, but, rather, by the internal focus on what Bernard called "dispositions," or spiritual states.²⁸

Although little scholarly attention has been given to the *Lyfe* thus far, J. M. Keenan has shown Deguileville's work to have been an apt expression of Cistercian piety, for interiorized pilgrimage was a focal point of the Cistercian heritage. According to Keenan, the text was used as a devotional aid for its narrative which was visualized "concretely as actual, physical experience."²⁹ Therefore, some knowledge of the outside world may have influenced Deguileville's writing, for he composed his poems during a

time when crusade was again being proposed. With the recent treaties with the Muslim citizens of Jerusalem, an agreement had been reached whereby the city was made accessible to pilgrims; this revitalization of pilgrim traffic resulted in a renewed pilgrim-text industry.³⁰ As Keenan has observed, Pilgrim progresses from one place to another, with “each [place] occupied by a concrete figuration of sin or state of mind,” following the path of actual pilgrims and the meditations used in actual pilgrimage:

[Pilgrim’s route] closely parallels the meditations of pilgrims who travelled from Cairo (Babylon), across the Sinai Desert to Mount Sinai and Jerusalem in the path of the Exodus. By the twelfth century, stops along the way had become standardized into “stations” with allegorical associations derived from folk etymologies and from biblical events. Fretellus said that “in Arabia the Lord detained the people of Israel for forty years at forty-two stations.”³¹ In the tour they were arranged to reflect the spiritual progress of the pilgrims from a state of sin to, upon approaching Jerusalem, order and grace. Before Mount Sinai they included “bitterness” (number 5), “hatred” (8), “discontent” (10), and “the graves of lust” (12); towards Jerusalem there was “Christ” (19), “miracle” (21), and “revelation” (42).³²

Because of this parallel, the *Lyfe* could be considered a pilgrim guidebook in the most spiritual sense, for it directed the pilgrim along an internal journey of self-awareness and spiritual understanding. Instead of physical landmarks, pilgrims gauged their progress by judging their ability to use Christian teaching to overcome temptation and to persevere through tribulation. Likewise, Susan K. Hagen offers a useful interpretation of the text as a mnemonic tool for teaching various aspects of faith and the moral pitfalls that lead to faithlessness, as each object shares a visual and metaphorical relationship, detail for detail, with specific doctrine.³³ She proposes that the purpose of the text is to “materialize” Christian doctrine, thus making it both accessible and memorable.³⁴

In like manner, in the *Lyfe*, Pilgrim makes a series of spiritual progressions as he learns to overcome the threats deployed by the vices. At the end of Pilgrim’s journey, when one would expect to read of his arrival in Jerusalem, the dreamer wakes and proceeds to chapel, suggesting that the monk has achieved some state or disposition of inner peace. The complementary interpretation also recognizes that, metaphorically speaking, the dreamer has indeed reached the celestial city on earth at the Cistercian house of Chaalis. Bernard likewise demonstrated his high opinion of the role of the cloister and Clairvaux, writing in 1129 that entering this house is tantamount to entering the Celestial Jerusalem. For example, in a letter to the parents of a Clairvaux novice called Philip, he

describes Philip's arrival in language associated with pilgrimage and homecoming:

Philippus vester, volens profisci Ierosolymam, compendium viae invenit, et cito pervenit quo volebat. Transfretavit in brevi hoc mare magnum et spatiosum, et, prospere navigans, attigit iam litus optatum atque ad portum tandem salutis applicuit. Stantes sint iam pedes eius in atriis Ierusalem . . . Ingressus est sanctam civitatem, sortitus est cum illis hereditatem . . . Et si vultis scire, Claravallis est. Ipsa est Jerusalem, ei quae in caelis est, tota mentis devotione, et conversationis imitatione, et cognatione quadam spiritus sociata.

[Your Philip, wishing to set out for Jerusalem, found a shortcut, and quickly he arrived at where he wished. In a short time, he crossed that great and wide sea, and, steering auspiciously, he has now reached that hoped for shore and finally put in at a port of safety. Now let his feet stand in the halls of Jerusalem . . . He has entered the holy city, received his inheritance with them . . . And if you wish to know, it is Clairvaux. This is Jerusalem, to him, the same which is in heaven, complete by devotion of mind and imitation of behavior, and associated with a certain knowledge of the spirit.]³⁵

In Augustinian terms, entering the cloister was a close approximation to leaving the secular world, or the “city of men,” behind in order to live in the “city of God” while on earth. This same pattern is observable in Guillaume's monastic account.

The Cistercian influence of Bernard of Clairvaux on Deguileville's poetry has been studied elsewhere; it is noteworthy, however, that Bernard's ideas are most visible in Guillaume's descriptions of the cloister and the afterlife. Guillaume shared a specific background with Bernard, for Bernard entered the Cistercian house of Cîteaux in 1111 and Clairvaux shortly after its founding in 1115. Guillaume's work shows the marks of Bernard's view of virtual pilgrimage, and echoes Bernard's assertion that the clergy make pilgrimages “not by setting out on [their] feet but by progressing by [their] dispositions.”³⁶ With life in the monastery meant to closely approximate the Celestial Jerusalem on earth, Bernard called the monks at Clairvaux “citizens” of Jerusalem, leading Guillaume to do the same at the close of his work with Pilgrim's “arrival” at Chaalis. The Jerusalem in the *Lyfe* is a virtual one, in that it represents life in the cloister; the holy city is not, however, a “virtual” destination in quite the same way as that created in the minds of readers as they read the guidebooks described in the first chapter of this study. The guidebooks depended on the actual references of landscape and architecture which could be visited in the mind's eye; Guillaume's Jerusalem, which also relied on the imaginative faculty, transcends this “remembered” physicality of the holy

places, and creates instead a Jerusalem that is a state of mind, represented here by the peace of the cloister. In this creation, the spiritual interpretation subordinates the physical world, as stages of spiritual development are calibrated in the language of place and proximity to "Jerusalem," or inner peace.

For Bernard, the crusade against sin and inner turmoil was, like pilgrimage, "a personal and liturgical gesture towards salvation."³⁷ He thus defined crusade as an exercise in personal penance as well as an historical fulfillment of prophecy. As Penny Cole has shown, it was through Bernard's preaching that the meditative exercise of the *imitatio Christi* came to be associated with crusading.³⁸ This conflation of a purely internal devotional act with a public, communal one began with the preaching of the First Crusade, but was refined by Bernard in the mid-twelfth century when he explained that crusader losses in the Second Crusade were actually God's merciful response.³⁹ As discussed throughout this study, some medieval Christians, in defeat, believed that God hoped to help them amend their sinful ways, for the suffering that crusading entailed was believed to be a type of self-sacrifice in imitation of Christ.⁴⁰ This self-sacrifice conjoined with crusading influences Guillaume's portrayal of pilgrimage. The *Lyfe* appealed to religious tastes, and may have augmented the spiritual exercises of those in religious orders. It illustrates how those in orders, who usually did not undertake pilgrimage locally, let alone pilgrimage to Jerusalem, nevertheless interacted with its image, and participated in the Christian community's veneration of it. Even though the holy city represented in the *Lyfe* occupies different registers of experience, from the sublimated to the real, it offers a focal point of religion to which people of diverse social standing, learning, and religious experience could look. This text is important for offering another view of Jerusalem then available in medieval England, rejecting the physical world of place pilgrimage, representing a material realization of spiritual development, and taking a very aggressive stance in the quest for peace.

PHILIPPE DE MÉZIÈRES' JERUSALEM AS AN EXTERNAL
DESTINATION AND END TO THE WAR

In another group of French texts which subsequently influenced interpretations of Jerusalem in English medieval society, peace is situated as the key to salvation; the earning of that concord would then be acknowledged by a very real occupation of the actual Jerusalem. The

previous discussion of the *Lyfe* illustrates some of the ways in which the holy city came to relate to a state of mind; in Deguileville's world, Jerusalem represents personal, internal peace and order. In the writing of Philippe de Mézières, one sees a similar relation between the attainment of peace and the place of the Passion. While Guillaume, in pursuit of peace, adopts an internalized approach to crusade as an interior, meditative exercise, Philippe embraces the act of crusading in actuality. Unlike Guillaume, Philippe was not a man of the cloister, and his background may explain his predilection for actual crusading. He was born in the Picard village of Mézières in 1327 into a family of minor nobility and began his career as a soldier in Italy. He later served under Humbert II on an expedition to Smyrna in 1346. According to G. W. Coopland, it was during this expedition, while on a journey to Jerusalem, that his passion for crusading began.⁴¹ In 1359 he traveled to Cyprus, became Chancellor there, and began a campaign to bring about renewed efforts for western re-conquest of the Holy Land. He later returned to France where he took employment as Charles V's personal advisor. After Charles V's death, Philippe worked for Charles VI, hoping to influence him toward introducing spiritual reform in France, healing the Schism, making peace between France and England, and, finally, campaigning in the Holy Land.⁴²

Philippe's ideas in their most developed expression reached English audiences through his *Epistre* to King Richard II in 1395. However, as Lynn Staley makes evident, the nobility of English society became conversant with Philippe's ideas much earlier.⁴³ Staley has identified the cultural presence of Philippe de Mézières in late medieval England, noting the wide circulation of his work among court circles and international nobility. His texts also held currency in the English literary scene, as is seen by his influence on Geoffrey Chaucer's writing.⁴⁴ Philippe's desire for political unity and order was not solely focused on restoring harmony between French and English peoples, for he also sought to unify his community on a more global scale, bringing together those Christians in Jerusalem, continental Europe, and England. To this end, he began his plans in 1368–9 for a new order of chivalry which he named the Order of the Passion. His rule for that order, the *Nova religio milicie passionis Jhesu Christi pro acquisitione sancte civitatis Jherusalem et terre sancte*, circulated in three redactions between 1368 and 1396, and reached England between 1389 and 1394 in a shortened version, entitled *La sustance de la chevalerie de la passion de Jhesu Crist en Francois*. Shortly after the production of these rules, Philippe circulated his *De la chevalerie*

de la passion de Jhesu Crist, a work that provides a list of the main members of European nobility who supported his order. The names of the many English nobles who appear in the list suggest a wide range of privileged men who had access to Philippe's ideas; the list, containing just under thirty names, includes the likes of Oton de Granson, John of Gaunt, and Louis Clifford.⁴⁵ Notably, some members of the list were known to have held opposing political ideas, and yet the ideals of the order still attracted them.

Through his *Epistre* and the Order of the Passion, Philippe set his sights not only on the recovery of Jerusalem, but also on a unification of Europe. As Staley explains, "Jerusalem delivered would be the result of European unity, not its cause."⁴⁶ In assessing Philippe's community-building strategies, I turn to his earlier work, the *Songe*, as a precursor to discussion of his *Epistre*. While the poem was not well known in England, it provides a clear view of Philippe's nascent ideas later to achieve fuller expression in the *Epistre*. The *Songe* therefore offers some background information on Philippe's crucial use of Jerusalem in his allegories. In this work, Philippe condemns the fact that the English justify their territorial and papal wars as crusades, and he vilifies their attacks against other Christians. He attempts to return the focus of his English and French audiences to the battle for the Terrestrial and Celestial Jerusalems, not for territory in France. To this end, Philippe's text, *Le Songe du Vieil Pèlerin*, was a crusade and pilgrimage allegory disseminated in France in the late fourteenth century.⁴⁷ Setting his work apart from that of Guillaume is Philippe's emphasis on public, international community. Unlike many writers considered in other chapters of this study, Philippe does not employ Jerusalem's image competitively against fellow Christians, but rather uses it as a rallying point. Developing his approach to Jerusalem over time, he composed *Le Songe du Vieil Pèlerin* in 1389, followed by his famous letter to Richard II in 1395. In 1396, after the defeat at Nicopolis, he wrote his *Epistre Lamentable et Consolatione* as a final appeal to Christendom to reform itself spiritually. The *Songe* and Philippe's letter to Richard II tell us most about Philippe's creative usage of the Jerusalem image.

Le Songe du Vieil Pèlerin begins in 1389 during a break in the Hundred Years War effected by a three-year truce. Cooplund has noted that Guillaume's *Vie* was a source of Philippe's *Songe*; indeed, Philippe refers to Guillaume by name throughout his work.⁴⁸ Philippe, however, employs fewer allegorical figures than Guillaume does, and often relates his characters (sometimes animals or objects) to actual persons through

direct representation. For instance, in the *Songe*, the Old Black Boar is John of Gaunt, son-in-law of Henry of Lancaster; the Young White Boar is Richard II; and the White Falcon is Charles V. The few allegorized, personified figures drive the plot of the poem, as the characters Truth, Mercy, and Justice run assessments of French and English spiritual currency, examining it for impurities, and searching for the extent to which each coin bears the stamp of Christianity. Like the *Vie*, characters in the *Songe* seek a holy city, although it is not called Jerusalem explicitly. Philippe's allegories attribute divine qualities to the French, and he discusses the Trinity as representative of the people of France.⁴⁹ He says that, in his homeland, the clergy represent God the Father, the common people symbolize the Son, and the knights reflect the Holy Spirit.⁵⁰ While the analogies suggest religious zeal for France, Philippe uses them to encourage both personal spiritual reform and the reform of the French government. He criticizes the politics of the Crown and calls for a reassessment of governmental finances and the establishment of peace between France and England.⁵¹

As I have discussed elsewhere, from the beginning of the thirteenth century, clergy in France and England had preached the necessity of spiritual reformation as a means to win the Holy Land. It was Philippe, however, who most explicitly called the ending of both the Schism and Hundred Years War necessary to this spiritual reform which aimed at capturing both the Celestial and Terrestrial Jerusalems. He focuses on these aims when addressing the French king and stresses the necessity of moral purity on both sides. Therefore, he advises him not to shed Christian blood:

“il t'est demoustre que pource que jusques a ores par la bonte de Dieu tes mains n'ont point este souillees du sang de tes adversaires d'Angleterre... roy d'Angleterre, innocent aussi du sang des Gallicans, tu lui doyes offrir bonne paix... humble, sans avarice, sans orgueil et sans reprochement des offences trespasses, et sans garder grant rigueur... par la paix.”

[“It has come to our notice that through the grace of God your hands have not been stained with the blood of your English enemies... the king of England, is also innocent of shedding French blood. You should offer peace to him, ... humbly, without avarice, without pride, without recall of past offences, and without too rigid insistence... on {the terms of} the treaty.”]⁵²

In this quotation, Philippe traces to the mutual French and English bloodshed all that is problematic between England and France – the war, the schism, and loss of the Holy Land. The outcry against Christians shedding Christian blood was not new to the Hundred Years War. This

rationale which links success in warfare to the proper conduct of those who wage it is again related to the crusades. For instance, Baldric of Dol, in his early twelfth-century account of Urban II's sermon at Clermont, condemned wars between Christians, and urged them to take up arms instead against non-Christians.⁵³ In his *Epistre* of 1395 to Richard II, Philippe explains that Christian kings should fear to shed the blood of their Christian brothers.⁵⁴ For Philippe, justification of war between Christians is impossible:

Aucuns pourroient dire que selonc les loys civiles et divines, pour recouvrer son heritage, pour faire justice des mauvais, ou pour la deffension de la chose publique, les guerres des crestiens sont licites. A ce se puet respondre que qui voudroit bien peser en la balance de verite le principal de la cause pour laquelle la guerre sera commenciee, laquelle cause sera jugiee par la sapience humaine estre juste, qui aucunefoiz devant Dieu, pour les circonstances et ignorances d'icelles, sera reputee injuste.

[Some may say that, according to divine and civil law, to recover a heritage, to mete out justice to evil doers, or for the defense of the public good, war between Christians is justified. To these we may reply that if a man weighs in the balance of truth the main pretext for which the war is to be waged, which to human wisdom seems good, but often in the sight of God, because of man's ignorance and lack of understanding, it must be seen to be unjust.]⁵⁵

Here, Philippe names "heritage" and "justice to evil doers" as false reasons to fight the Hundred Years War. This would have been particularly applicable to Englishmen with land claims in France and Spain, such as John of Gaunt. Ironically, this rationale for crusading against Christians – reclaiming one's heritage and meting out justice – had been established by Pope Urban II as reasons to go on crusade to the Holy Land.

For these sins against other Christians, Philippe's *Songe* prescribes lasting peace between England and France as a measure of atonement for past Christian bloodshed:

"se tu pesoies bien en la balance de ta contemplacion la grant destruction de la Crestiente qui a este ou temps de ton besayeu, ayeul et pere . . . le sang aussi espandu des nobles Gallicans, des eglises destruites, le(s) virges violees pour l'occasion de la guerre, et dampnacion des ames infinies; et de l'autre part, . . . se tu pesoies bien en la dicte balance la grant amour, le sang espandu du Doulz Aignelet occis pour toy, . . . tu reculerioies volentiers troyes pas arriere avant que tu contestasses la guerre du tout, dont tant de maux en adviennent qu'il est impossible de [le] reciter."

["If you weigh in the balance of your mind the great destruction of Christendom which took place in the days of your great-grandfather, your grandfather and your father . . . {and consider} the spilled blood of noble Frenchmen, the ruined

churches, the virgins violated on account of the war, and damnation of infinite souls; and on the other side, . . . if you weigh in the aforesaid balance the great love, the spilled blood of the Holy Lamb killed for you, . . . you will readily draw back before you renew a war at all – a war which has brought so much evil in its train that it is impossible to tell.”⁵⁶

In his *Epistre*, too, he advises Richard as well as Charles to go on crusades in the Middle East in place of fighting in Europe. Likewise, the incentive for Richard’s taking up crusading is to erase the debt of his fathers who did not go on crusade, having been prevented by “their accursed war,” that is, the Hundred Years War.⁵⁷ Philippe’s habit of continually identifying the Hundred Years War as the basis of the loss of the Holy Land and cause of the Papal Schism makes his letter significant, for it attributes western sin and subsequent disfavor with God to that war specifically. Ironically, the crusades to the Holy Land which ceased as a result of that war are portrayed as part of the cure for it.

Having advised peace and moral purity, Philippe in the *Songe* turns to his ultimate goal, the Terrestrial Jerusalem, and presents an idealized portrayal of their joint re-occupation of it:

“yront en la Terre de Promission, [et] rechaptant a l’espee la sainte cite de Hierusalem, et la Sainte Terre, a confusion des ennemis de la foy et exaltacion de la croix . . . Fays doncques bonne paix, Beau Filz . . . avec ton frere d’Angleterre . . . Il vous doit souvenir a tous deux que par vostre bonne paix la Crestiente par la bonte de Dieu sera reformee et paix par tout, qui est tant desiree. Et vous gardez bien tous deux en traictant de la paix de trop croire a aucuns chevetaines, qui sont ou ont este nourriz et enriches en la guerre . . . Quel merveille! car telx chevetaines en la paix perdrieroient les groz lopins.”

[“{The kings of England and France} will go into the Promised Land and recover at sword point the Holy City of Jerusalem and the Holy Land to the confusion of the enemies of the Faith and to the exaltation of the Cross . . . Therefore make peace, Good Son, with your English brother . . . You should both remember that through your good truce Christianity will be reformed by the goodness of God, and peace above all, which is so desired. And you both should make sure that, in keeping the truce, you do not heed the advice of certain generals who are, or have been, nourished and enriched by the war . . . What a marvel! Since in peacetime such generals stand to lose fat profits.”]⁵⁸

Here, the traditional call for personal moral reform is expanded to include peace between nations, thus taking the concept of Christian “inner peace” as depicted in Guillaume’s work, and applying it to political bodies whose shared harmony brings salvation. Likewise, by encouraging the king to turn a deaf ear to the corrupt advisors, Philippe looks to Charles VI to lead

the way in the reform of western Christendom, calling him to inspire his people to take on this spiritual change by taking it up for himself.⁵⁹ The role of the king is subsequently described with nautical imagery: both the *Songe* and the *Lyfe* use allegorical ships as aids in the journey. While the ship in the *Lyfe* is Religion, that of the *Songe* is the French Crown, and Charles is at its helm.⁶⁰ Because of this reliance on secular leadership, bk. 3 of the *Songe* may be interpreted as a mirror for princes. In it, Philippe advises Charles on dozens of intimate matters, such as his personal reading, his interaction with the Church, and the conduct of trials.⁶¹ Finally he returns to the subject of international government, urging Charles to make his personal spiritual reform complete by making permanent peace with England, establishing rules of fair trade, and installing plans for crusade once peace has been achieved.⁶² This focus on quelling the territorial upheaval caused by the Hundred Years War as a means to spiritual growth is significant in light of the English who were, at the same time, finding ways to make ecclesiastical justification for their invasion of France.

Philippe's later work, the *Epistre au Roi Richart* of May 1395, presents this unified spiritual and political message in a mirror for princes for Richard II and Charles VI. In 1395, Richard was twenty-eight years old and recently widowed, while Charles was two years his junior. In an effort to unify England and France, Richard was to marry Charles' daughter, Isabel, on November 4, 1396. In spite of Charles' mental breakdown, which occurred in August 1392, Philippe writes as if all were normal. The aim of the letter is the ending of the Papal Schism. He describes the Church as a wounded mother who must be healed by Charles and Richard. Here, Philippe uses medical analogies whereby the agents of wholesome medicine are not the Virgin Mary and Christ, as they appear in some contemporary penitential manuals, but rather are Charles and Richard themselves. Here, both kings would contribute equally to establishing peace and ending the war. To show the vital role of the monarchs, Philippe endows each leader with uniquely precious attributes to contribute toward that healing; for instance, he compares Charles to a sacred balm and ruby, while he calls Richard a medicinal lodestone and diamond.⁶³

The participation of both kings in this process is critical; it is stated that one king cannot achieve this goal without the other. In the *Epistre*, Philippe, reiterating his sentiments from the *Songe*, says that the Church is wounded by the Hundred Years War, the Papal Schism, and the loss of Jerusalem.⁶⁴ Addressing the schism first and relating the Hundred Years

War to it, he asks both kings to use their restorative powers to close this wound:

“Dittes moy . . . que respondres vous a l’Aignelet occis, quant . . . il vendra au jugement et vous arguera de vostre grant negligence et de vostre grant cruaute, que vous avez laissiee s’espouse . . . si longuement ainsi languir et en ii moitez estre divisee? Par laquele plaie et horrible maladie tant de sanc a este respandu, et l’ unite de l’eglise et la charite de Dieu entre les crestiens a este si longuement, et est encore, par grant hayne troublee et divisee.”

[“Tell me . . . what reply will you make to the slain Lamb when . . . He comes to judgement, and accuses you of great negligence and cruelty because you have left His bride . . . for so long to languish and to be torn in two? Because of this wound and horrible sickness, much blood has been spilt, and the unity of the Church and the charity of God between Christians have been for so long, and still are, disturbed and divided by great hatred.”]⁶⁵

Along with these injuries, Philippe writes that the wound which requires the strongest treatment is the loss of Jerusalem. As he explains, that injury which is the most serious is treated by the most bitter medicine of all: crusading.⁶⁶ According to Philippe, Kings Richard and Charles take over the role of Christ “doing battle on the cross.” They, not Christ, are God’s champion avengers who fight for the glory of the Church.⁶⁷ Such reassignment of roles suggests a strengthening of the role of kingship, whereby functions traditionally taken by the Church and Christ are assumed by secular political bodies. Yet, implicitly, it also recognizes not only English accountability in the situation, but also English agency – they are recognized as a nation whose Christian identity merits its equal standing with France. The importance ascribed to the role of both the kings in the spiritual warfare of their subjects is seen by way of their setting a moral example. To this end, Philippe proposes the establishment of the Order of the Chivalry of the Passion, that is, a new, international military order which would live in and protect the Holy Land. Philippe encourages Richard to join this new order, again suggesting how he wishes the English king to see himself as a monarch who, like Charles, may claim divine favor.⁶⁸

The role of the kings in this text is important, and was a subject of interest for many other fourteenth-century writers, French and English alike. In the *Epistre*, in particular, there are two ships: one commanded by Charles, the other by Richard.⁶⁹ This is unlike the *Songe*, whose single ship is piloted by the French king. It is also worth noting that, unlike the *Vie* and *Lyfe*, these ships are not designated as ships of Religion, though their function (to help Christian souls through life) is the same. In the

Epistre, the kings, as captains of the ships, have taken over the role once assigned to the clergy. The kings are portrayed as sailing the passage between Scylla, a monster living under a dangerous submerged rock, and Charybdis, a perilous whirlpool. According to Philippe, the ships represent the chivalry of France and England respectively, and the wise judgment of their captains is thought to keep this chivalry from failing. Thus, both kings are exhorted to steer a middle course and not to be dissuaded by their lords from signing a peace treaty. Philippe subsequently makes a comparison between the chivalric models of Roland and Oliver and the “knightly” Charlemagne and the “very bold and excellent” King Arthur.⁷⁰ Through these fictional and historical models, Philippe restates the battle for peace in military terms, requesting the two kings to comport themselves according to the examples set by their noble predecessors. He encourages the leaders to love one other and to stand together against their royal councilors who would undermine their peace treaties. His encouragement that they protect themselves with spiritual armor affirms an interest in statecraft:

Et quant a aucunes differences es traities l'un de l'autre, plainement non accordees par les royaux conseilliers, armez vous de l'escu de douce pacience . . . par laquele vous possederes vos ames, et du haubert de liberalite, par laquele vous remeteres et quitteres l'un a l'autre ce que vos conseilliers n'oseroient atempter.

[As to any differences which may arise over the treaties, failing agreement among the royal councilors, arm yourselves with the shield of patience . . . in which you may possess your souls, and with the hauberk of generosity, by which you may settle between yourselves things which your councilors would never dare to attempt.]⁷¹

Notably unlike the *Vie* and the *Lyfe*, in the *Epistre*, these arms are not meant to protect against the attacks of the Seven Deadly Sins, but against specific men on the kings' councils who object to the ending of the war based on their own financial self-interest. In the *Epistre*, the armor of the *Vie's* psychomachia is turned toward statecraft instead of spiritual devotion.

Other symbols associated with devotional tradition in medieval writing are shared with secular spheres in the *Epistre*. Charles and Richard are portrayed as the saviors of France and England, replacing the roles traditionally taken by the clergy, the Virgin Mary, and Christ. Philippe enhances the kings' reputations as leaders, linking them exegetically to Moses and Aaron of the Old Testament, who led the children of Israel through the desert. In Philippe's hands, the forty-year peregrination is transformed into the military campaign of an army on the march. Here,

he describes both Moses and Aaron as “captains of 600,000 fighting men,” referring to the people of Israel.⁷² This comparison serves many functions. First, it establishes Charles and Richard as part of an ancient, shared bloodline. He claims that both kings, like Moses and Aaron who both “spring from the line of Levi,” are descendants of “the blessed St. Louis and the other holy Kings of France and England.”⁷³ Next, the comparison elevates the importance of Charles and Richard’s mission to that of the two brothers’ to bring the Israelites to the Promised Land. Here, Philippe has “western Christendom” stand for the people of Israel, while the Promised Land signals “true peace” among Christian kings.⁷⁴ Finally the comparison is a cautionary tale advising both kings that, unless they resist their earthly lords, they, like Moses and Aaron, will be forbidden to enter the Promised Land. Philippe warns that unless they honor God at the “Waters of Strife and Rebellion,” that is, unless they end the Hundred Years War, they shall die in the wilderness and be replaced by other leaders.⁷⁵ This comparison highlights the role of kingship in fulfilling a divine plan. In this case, a king is “good” if he is a peacemaker. In this letter, Philippe appears to have created yet another “Jerusalem” as a supplement to the image of the holy city: he posits a state of peace in England and Europe as the locus of holiness. Moreover, he takes up the term “Promised Land” instead of Jerusalem, perhaps suggesting the wide geographical range of his goals, since Jerusalem traditionally constituted a small area in the center of the Promised Land. Peace between nations thus augments the pre-existing goal of seeking the celestial and terrestrial cities.

Unlike Philippe’s *Songe* which gave special preference to France, the *Epistre* makes both France and England God’s dwelling place on earth, transforming them both into holy “Promised Lands.” Thus, the two countries together take the role once held by Jerusalem:

Le benoit Filz de Dieu, c’est le doulz Jhesu, en ce monde a edifie singulierement une maison pour luy, en laquele il c’est fort delites de habiter en la dicte maison, faisans de grans merveilles, c’est assavoir la maison de France et d’Angleterre, maison tres exellente entre tous les royaumes des crestiens.

[The blessed Son of God, sweet Jesus, has built in this world a special house for Himself, in which He delights to dwell, performing great wonders therein; this house is the two kingdoms of France and England, excelling all other Christian realms.]⁷⁶

Here, France and England do not replace the Promised Land completely, but are given many of its attributes. From biblical texts and the crusade chronicles which described this sacred region, Philippe has created a new

France and England. His comparison of terms sanctifies these English and French localities, unifying them as the new “chosen lands,” and expediting the need for peace. In texts discussed elsewhere in this study crusading rhetoric was used to incite invasion of France, on the one hand, and by Philippe in an attempt to bring about an end to the Hundred Years War and the Papal Schism, on the other. This versatility shows the multivalent applications of crusade writing, and the many possibilities surrounding Jerusalem, not only as a symbol of national identity, but also as one of international community.

In the ecclesiastical and lay works of the fourteenth century, crusade rhetoric was used aggressively to encourage destruction, but it was also employed benevolently to encourage the reform of the soul and the reinstatement of peace in England and northwestern Europe. Guillaume, interested in reform and harmony like Philippe, locates his crusade within the bounds of the human imagination, as pilgrims progressed from one spiritual state to another, without ever leaving the cloister. While this *peregrinatio in stabilitate* encouraged its monastic audience to proceed “by their hearts, not with their feet,”⁷⁷ it nevertheless employed the images of armed pilgrimage to illustrate a very active engagement with the difficulties presented by the inner journey. Both Guillaume and Philippe take up crusading by different means, figurative or otherwise; however, both look toward Jerusalem as a sign of Christian *communitas* on earth. Likewise, the destination of the holy city, traditionally associated with writing about crusade, necessarily offered new interpretations. Discussion about crusade had come full circle: French and English writers who had at one time been intent on owning the Terrestrial Jerusalem could find the celestial city at home, in the very images of their own countries and cloisters. Like France, England was to become “the Land of Promise, Sion,” as the “Walsingham Ballad” of the fifteenth century would later attest.

Conclusion

The study of the intersections of pilgrimage and crusade in late medieval narrative reveals the social and political uses of the tropes of militant pilgrimage, and finds that medieval writers utilized the rhetoric of crusade to explore conflicts between France and England, and to articulate an English identity, mobilized around the image of the holy city. In this book, I have sought to expand our views about the medieval implications of writing about Jerusalem. The texts studied here define communal identity expressed through claims of ownership of the holy city and a crusading heritage excelling all others. These views situate Jerusalem as a site of devotion to be meditated on privately and inhabited publicly. As this study observes, such depictions of the holy city were key elements in the creation of a sacralized, English identity. The worth of the terrestrial city of Jerusalem as a spiritual commodity and guarantor of worldly authority was established during the crusades when armed pilgrims were instructed to win that place described to them as Heaven on earth, beloved by God. Although English participation in the early crusades was minimal, later English medieval writers chose to embellish their ties to Jerusalem in crusade-related texts. Through their restyled depictions of King Richard I's exploits during the Third Crusade, or the Roman activities and attitudes during the first-century siege of Jerusalem, authors of the romances *Richard, Coer de Lyon (sic)* and *The Siege of Jerusalem* produced narratives which supported contemporary English claims to the holy city and substantiated current beliefs about English piety and chivalry. By revising history to establish the protagonist's Jerusalem relation and superior crusading reputation, these writers created an English textual heritage which could compete with that of their French neighbors. In fashioning national identity through these texts, the English were able to match French claims not only to the Holy Land, but also to French territory, the papacy, and the favor of God.

Similar textual transformations promoting England's sacral identity continued into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with crusading rhetoric deployed by clergy and kings in such contexts as the Hundred Years War and Papal Schism, whereby English politicians and ecclesiasts borrowed crusade rhetoric to justify their war against France in religious terms. As Christopher Allmand has shown, war propaganda reached its height in England in the late fourteenth century when an English chancellor told Parliament in 1377 that through English victories in France, God was honoring England as he had honored Israel. Because of this display of favor, he said, England could now call itself, like Israel, God's own inheritance. Such sentiments were expressed not only in Parliament, but also in some English churches. For instance, in 1375 and 1378 Bishop Thomas Brinton of Rochester told his congregations that God "used to be English" [solebat esse Anglici]; therefore it was justified that Englishmen fight for their country by taking up arms against France.¹ One Franciscan reading of the Celestial Jerusalem discussed by John in Revelations predicted the coming of the friars to England, literally making England into the "New Jerusalem."² This line of thinking is borne out in the separate (and ultimately unsuccessful) "crusades" launched by Bishop Henry Despenser of Norwich, c. 1382, in Flanders, and by John of Gaunt, in 1386, against Castile.³

As this study demonstrates, crusade rhetoric inflected the pilgrim guidebooks of the late medieval period, as well as its sermons. The fourteenth-century Anonymous pilgrim, for instance, is constantly embattled with Muslim Others, whether over a sack of wine or regarding his perception of Islamic neglect of the Christian sacred places. Pilgrims William Wey and Richard Torkington likewise report Muslim figures as dangerous to the physical sites and to the pilgrims themselves. These threats to Christian bodies and to Jerusalem were once catalysts of the First Crusade. In the late medieval guidebooks, these elements are co-opted into the language of devotion, allowing the pilgrim to experience Christ-like suffering through interactions with Islam. This strategy offered its writers a basis with which to describe the Christian community against a morally defined religious Other. While such comparisons predate the crusades, the prevalence of these portrayals increases, post-1087, as the (usually) Muslim adversary is transformed into a necessary part of Christian devotion surrounding Jerusalem. Whether in armed or unarmed pilgrimage, to be practiced virtually or actually, crusade rhetoric identified a range of religious Others as impediments to pilgrimage, dangers to the soul, and representations of a fallen state of Christianity.

Jewish identity, as is seen in *The Siege of Jerusalem*, is made to play a role similar to that represented by Islam, but also receives special attention because of doctrinal acceptance of the Jews as an historically chosen people, formerly selected by God to inhabit the holy city. As seen throughout this study, the threat represented by the religious Other, whether made out to be Jewish, Muslim, or reprobate Christian, is subsumed as a devotional aid to Christian veneration and a comparative barometer of Christian morality.

Christian losses in the Holy Land after the First Crusade inspired a trend in writing about the question of morality, situating the battle between good and evil as representative of the position of the Christian soul in the fight for the Terrestrial Jerusalem. In this way, possession of the city of God was only possible for those who concurrently sought the Celestial Jerusalem. By the fourteenth century, when both the access to and the hope for regaining the Holy Land were at their nadir, the activities of the external pilgrimage and crusade to Jerusalem were subordinated to the spiritual activity of remembering and even “besieging” that city in an imaginary, affective way. Evidence of such spirituality is seen in *The Book of Sir John Mandeville*, which both acknowledges European Christendom’s fallen state and supplies the raw material for a pilgrimage and crusade of the soul by providing a compendium of information which could be used for devotion. In the inner struggle for Jerusalem, however, meditation, by itself, on the holy places was not sufficient for spiritual success. Influenced by the crusades, the rhetoric of devotion urged Christians to fight against their own immorality which was depicted using the same language reserved for portraying the Muslim adversary. As seen in the Middle English translations of Guillaume de Deguileville’s *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, Christian sin and the religious Other were conflated; moral individuals were encouraged to excise that sin from their own souls in the same way that they would expel the non-Christian from their community.

Jerusalem, the tangible reward of crusaders and pilgrims, also widened its interpretative valence in the language of interior devotion. The influences of the Hundred Years War and Papal Schism defined that city and its environs not only as a spiritual, internal focal point, but also as part of the “Promised Land,” and as a reflection of England itself. Late fourteenth-century writers like Philippe de Mézières urged France and England to make peace, and Philippe’s *Epistre*, along with other works of this time period, such as Mandeville’s *Book* or William Langland’s *Piers Plowman*, solicit spiritual reform, urging English audiences to act upon

their spiritual legitimacy and political power to end the war. This is different from the earlier English reliance on Jerusalem in order to articulate a spiritual and political identity separate from that of the French. In fact, this model hoped to unify England and northern Europe around the ideal of the holy city as a vision of peace, making Jerusalem a symbol of its realization. Crusading to Jerusalem, then, becomes the reward for unification among nations. To encourage Christian *communitas* among nations, Philippe looks to the individual kings to take up meditative devotion, so that, by their example, they may inspire their subjects to do the same. Guillaume de Deguileville, who features Jerusalem similarly, makes a good illustration of the shape that this type of inner devotion might take. In showcasing the holy city as a symbol of peace's attainment, Guillaume and Philippe illustrate how sacral identity once earned by the external, communal crusade and pilgrimage could also be gained by the internal, personal crusade and the pilgrimage of the soul. It is in Philippe and Guillaume's vision of Jerusalem as a state of peace, both individual and communal, that a "globalized," universally accessible, Christian morality is held up as an antidote to the public and private skirmishes of their day.

The examples above show the language traditionally adopted for describing crusades in the Middle East translated into forms enabling internal devotion and promoting *communitas* among Christians in England and France. Yet it must be noted that the impulse to perform actual crusade in the Holy Land was not altogether dead. As Elizabeth Siberry has shown, late medieval writers continued to support actual crusade to Jerusalem in tandem with its devotional manifestations. While the works of Wycliffe, Langland, and Gower have been represented as the writers' opposition to crusade, Siberry suggests that such allegations are not supported by the fuller context of their works, and therefore do not reflect popular English feeling.⁴ Siberry challenges the idea that crusade enthusiasm was beginning to wane in the fourteenth century; I would add, however, that the 1396 defeat of the English and French at Nicopolis, which post-dated the works of many of these authors, was the last publicly supported act of crusading in the medieval period. Therefore, for at least some ecclesiastical and lay levels of society at the dawn of the fifteenth century, crusading activity had already been fully subsumed into the language of devotional piety.

As with the activity of crusading to the Holy Land, public attitudes toward pilgrimage were changing. This is reflected by the historical accounts of popular pilgrimage which had dropped from view by the

reign of Queen Elizabeth I.⁵ Before its sixteenth-century condemnation, pilgrimage was considered an orthodox practice, related to the seven sacraments of the Church. Of the sacraments, pilgrimage encouraged both the practice of confession, which was required before any pilgrim was allowed to set out, and penance. In turn, the journey sometimes could be performed as an act of penance. As the reform of the Church filtered through various parishes in England in the fifteenth century, Reformist views on the sacraments necessarily affected pilgrim practices. Nevertheless, it appears that governmental plans to prohibit pilgrimage were met with resistance on both a popular and ecclesiastical level. Moreover, its decline during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries may have occurred before its official prohibition.⁶ Certainly the skepticism over relics, such as that expressed by the Anonymous, Wey, and Torkington, may speak to this phenomenon. In a similar fashion, the Mandeville-author condemns those on Cyprus who claim that their relic of the cross is actually the True Cross – in fact, he says, it belonged to Dismas, the Good Thief – those who say otherwise do so wrongly, “for getyng of offrynges” (7/18–19).

Criticism of pilgrimage also becomes more frequent in the works of late medieval ecclesiasts and intellectuals. For instance, Langland’s *Piers Plowman*, which uses the trope of pilgrimage, heaps scorn on the hypocrisy associated with pilgrims and comments on the lack of efficacy he perceives in pilgrimage.⁷ Similarly, Thomas à Kempis, in his treatise *The Imitation of Christ*, writes of the importance of cultivating “invisible” spirituality, rather than seeking that which is “visible.”⁸ Likewise, Thomas More, ostensibly in support of pilgrimage, warned readers of the potential moral snares involved in its practice, in his *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*.⁹ The Lollard *Conclusiones*, considered heretical at the time of their circulation in 1395, condemned pilgrimage as unfounded superstition.¹⁰ Though John Wycliffe himself wrote little about pilgrimage, the topic appears often in Lollard testimonies which lodged the complaints that the so-called “holy places” granted no merit, that travel to the sites invited occasions for immoral behavior, and that the practice detracted from the work of “trewe pilgrymes” who stayed at home, keeping themselves occupied with domestic cares, and constantly fleeing the Seven Deadly Sins.¹¹ Not only the Wycliffites, but also orthodox members of the clergy, registered their dissatisfaction with the practice. For example, Richard FitzRalph, a fourteenth-century Archbishop of Armagh, was critical of pilgrimage carried out for the wrong reasons.¹² Yet in spite of the existing criticism, the late fourteenth-century view of pilgrimage seems broadly

divided, with ecclesiastical officials encouraging its practice. For instance, in 1408, Archbishop Arundel promoted “the veneration of crosses and saints’ images with ‘processions, bending of the knees, lightings of candles, and pilgrimages.’”¹³ Arundel’s show of support for pilgrimage is further complicated by the context of his actions within wider religious, political controversies, as Nicholas Watson and others have argued.¹⁴ Even so, pilgrimage was being encouraged in late medieval sermons and remained an important part of medieval English lay life; it was still extensively practiced even in the mid-sixteenth century when it was utterly condemned and the shrines dismantled. The account of Sir Richard Torkington is a good example of those who continued to go on pilgrimage even at a time when the practice was increasingly critiqued.¹⁵

It is important to note that in spite of the atmosphere of criticism surrounding relics and pilgrimage, many English communities were loath to give up itinerant devotion and veneration at significant sites. At a structural level, one might consider the fact that many English shrines once popular in the early medieval period had fallen into ruin by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as evidence of an historical decrease in pilgrimage activity. However, Eamon Duffy and Diana Webb have shown that while some of the English shrines were indeed neglected before their condemnation, interpreting this neglect as a sign of a wholesale decline in pilgrimage is inaccurate. In fact, in England as well as on the Continent, all shrines experienced cyclical rises and falls in their popularity.¹⁶ The utter condemnation of the practice seems to have taken a long time to fully enforce and to have followed geographic patterns according to levels of parish receptiveness. For example, Hugh Latimer, writing *c.* 1533, was still considered radical for preaching against the veneration of the saints. In fact, the desire to venerate the saints was so strong in parts of England that in the early sixteenth century, when Latimer was invited to be Bristol’s Lenten preacher by the town’s Mayor, the Prior of the Dominicans at Bristol registered a letter of complaint against him.¹⁷ In response to Latimer’s position against the saints and pilgrimages, outraged local clergy mobilized against him. In spite of public support of the saints and pilgrimage, however, Latimer’s show of opposition brought him career promotions as the English government sought to quash outward shows of piety involving the saints.¹⁸ Thomas Cromwell, employed by the crown, would later recruit him as a publicist of the Reformation.

The marked increase of iconoclasm in England in the 1520s meant that, by 1533, images were being thrown out of churches in London. By 1534, Thomas More, defender of the saints and the tradition behind them, was

locked up in the Tower of London. Yet in spite of the risks, pilgrims still visited the shrines in large numbers. Two years later, the Royal Injunctions of 1536 attacked pilgrimage and the cult of images and relics in an indirect way: they criticized the laity for superstition and the clergy for deceiving pilgrims in order to bring revenues to the shrines.¹⁹ They also took issue with the economic loss sustained when people left work to go on pilgrimage.²⁰ The Royal Injunctions of 1538, however, were more direct, and condemned any form of pilgrimage and image-veneration as superstition.²¹ This injunction effectively outlawed pilgrimage; through it, the destruction of shrines, relics, and images reached its peak. With the Second Royal Injunctions, the clergy were told to preach against pilgrimage and to prohibit shrine offerings. Public “executions” of the saints were staged, as their images were taken from churches and burned. Latimer also engineered a smear campaign against famous relics, such as the Holy Blood, in order that his destruction of them might be more easily executed.²²

At the same time, although for different reasons, pilgrimage to the Holy Land was also coming to an end. In 1524, the Ottoman conquests in the region led to the expulsion of the Franciscan friars from their convent on Mount Sion. Though they moved to nearby lodgings, by 1560 they were forced to leave Jerusalem altogether.²³ This event coincided approximately with the Reformation, producing another reduction in pilgrim traffic. Perhaps more importantly, however, the decline of Venetian naval supremacy meant that the Venetians could no longer provide licensed and controlled sea passage to the Holy Land. Safe, affordable sea travel to the Holy Land became almost impossible for most European Christians. With the decreased supply of pilgrims, the tourist industry that had grown up around Christian pilgrimage in the Holy Land collapsed, and the management of Christian visits became unprofitable for Palestinian officials. As a result of these events, the Jerusalem pilgrimage had decreased significantly by 1525.²⁴ Affective devotion to the holy city, however, persisted. For instance, the idea of a “mixed” Jerusalem, meaning both the celestial and terrestrial, was present in the Reformation-related works of John Calvin.²⁵ In fact, some scholars suggest that the belief in a divine, spiritual kingdom is a universal idea in many religious faiths and cultures. As Avigdor Posèq has shown, the desire for a celestial, eternal city was and continues to be common to many cultures across time, and is not limited to Jerusalem:

The wish for a magically protected domain is one of the collective transcultural “archetypes,” that according to Jung, arise spontaneously in the dreams of individuals and in the mythologies of various peoples.²⁶

This desire for what Posèq terms a “magically protected domain” is certainly evident in the writing about Jerusalem in the medieval period. Even the desire itself took an internalized form with medieval devotion to the Passion, which gained its authenticity from its origin in the Holy Land. In the same way, by affectively meditating on the holiest of cities, late medieval Christians were able to journey there in their minds, lay siege to the city as virtual crusaders, and inhabit it.

The use of crusade rhetoric, functioning in tandem with the language of pilgrimage devotion, worked variably across three centuries, whether to recruit for an active military campaign against non-Christians and “infidels,” to encourage reform of the soul, or to support warfare against England’s Christian neighbors. To put these changes in medieval pilgrimage and crusade into perspective, Ernst H. Kantorowicz’s research into a field he named “political theology” is valuable for its acknowledgment of how state formation during the Renaissance was rooted in medieval ecclesiastical theology. As Kantorowicz has shown, the traits of the *corpus mysticum*, that is, the Church, or body of Christians, were easily applied to political entities such as the Aristotelian *corpus morale et politicum* or the emotionally loaded *patria*.²⁷ This unification of *corpus mysticum* with a political *patria* or *corpus politicum* is seen in the medieval conflation of crusading and personalized interior devotion; it also appears in the emerging identification of France and England as “Promised Lands” and New Jerusalems. As we have seen, this shared identity between religion, nation, and crusade contributed to recruitment propaganda for secular territorial battles. As in crusade, dying for one’s country could earn the same spiritual reward as dying for control of the terrestrial Jerusalem. Kantorowicz’s discussion of *patria* may be applied to this notion of sanctified warfare:

the main contents of the veneration of *patria* were derived from a world of thought which was religious in a broad sense; and the mainspring of this devotion was that at a certain moment in history the state appeared as a *corpus mysticum* comparable to the Church. Hence, *pro patria mori*, death for the sake of that mystico-political body, made sense; it became meaningful, as it was considered equal in value and consequence to the death for the Christian faith, for the Church, or for the Holy Land.²⁸

The textual image of the crusader who would fight and die for an actual or mystical homeland was augmented by the portrayal of the warrior Christ, as suggested by Bernard of Clairvaux, Guillaume de Deguileville, and other medieval writers who also depicted Christ as chivalric knight

and crusader.²⁹ This symbol permeated the rituals of the medieval Church to the extent that Christ was described as coming forth as a champion to “do battle” by dying for sinful Christendom on the cross. Likewise, in descriptions of the Mass, the priest was said to represent Christ the Champion; while the priest himself did not proceed to die on the cross, he was perceived to enact the Passion in the preparation and consumption of the eucharistic meal.³⁰ In England, the image of the warrior Christ appeared in later works ascribed to Bede, the glosses on the Canterbury Psalter, *Piers Plowman*, and other sources.³¹ Although the exercises of going on crusade and pilgrimage were suppressed by the sixteenth century, they had influenced the interpretations of the eucharist, meditations on the Passion, and the formation of English nationhood. By the end of the fourteenth century, crusade rhetoric and the Jerusalem relation were fully integrated elements in discourses of English religion and government. Many of the late medieval writers discussed here worked to describe England’s relationship to Jerusalem in their narratives of the past and present; through this creative activity, they inscribed images of England’s sacral identity within the English medieval imaginary and on their world.

Notes

INTRODUCTION: TEXTS AND CONTEXTS

1. Excerpted from the anonymous “Walsingham Ballad,” printed by Richard Pynson, 1495; internally dated 1461. Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge, Book 1254.
2. G. J. C. Snoek offers a discussion of contact relics; see his *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction* (New York: E. J. Brill, 1995), pp. 10–14. For related terms, see also *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, eds. Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq, 15 vols. in 30 (Paris: Letouzey, 1920–53), vol. 13:2, p. 2313.
3. *Itinerarium cuiusdam Anglici, 1344–45*, in *Della Terra Sancta e dell'Oriente Franceseano, 1300–1400*, in *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica*, ed. P. Girolamo Golubovich, vols. 3–4 (Florence: Quaracchi Press, 1927), vol. 4, pp. 427–60; p. 453.
4. See E. D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire, A.D. 213–400* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 15 and 129–30; and Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion* (London: Faber & Faber, 1975), pp. 24–5.
5. Colin Morris, “Picturing the Crusades: The Uses of Visual Propaganda, c. 1095–1250,” in *The Crusades and their Sources*, eds. John France and William G. Zajac (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1998), p. 207.
6. Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, p. 452, describes a covering around the mortice on Calvary; and John Mandeville mentions one around the Tomb of the Holy Sepulchre. See *The Defective Version of Mandeville's Travels*, ed. M. C. Seymour, *EETS OS* 319 (Oxford, 2002), p. 29, lines 1–5.
7. William Wey, a fifteenth-century English pilgrim to the Holy Land, describes boards with which he took the measurements of the Sepulchre in *The Itineraries of William Wey, Fellow of Eton, to Jerusalem, A.D. 1458 and A.D. 1462*, ed. George Williams (London: J. B. Nichols, 1857), p. xxix.
8. For Holy Land as witness, see Mary B. Campbell, “The Object of One's Gaze: Landscape, Writing, and Early Medieval Pilgrimage,” in *Discovering New Worlds: Essays of Medieval Exploration and Imagination*, ed. Scott D. Westrem (New York: Garland Press, 1991), p. 11. For Jerusalem as “a relic of sorts,” see Donald R. Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage*

- Narratives and their Posterity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 71.
9. For a vision of the Celestial Jerusalem, see the Revelations of John 21:2, 12–16 and Tobit 13:16–18. Present-day art historians have found that medieval representations of heavenly and earthly Jerusalem are “interchangeable” in art and may have been considered so for Jerusalem’s visitors; see Robert Ousterhout, “Flexible Geography and Transportable Topography,” in *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art*, ed. Bianca Kühnel in *Jewish Art* 23/4 (Jerusalem, 1997/18), 395; and R. Konrad, “Das himmlische und das irdische Jerusalem in mittelalterlichen Denken,” in *Speculum Historiae*, eds. C. Bauer, L. Boehm, and M. Müller (Freiburg, Munich, 1965), pp. 523–40.
 10. See John Cassian’s interpretations of Jerusalem in his *Collationes*, ed. J. Pinchery, *Sources Chrétiennes* 54 (Paris, 1958), vol. 14.8. Many pilgrims to Jerusalem superimposed Christ’s life on their experiences. As a guide in this exercise, many carried Gregory the Great’s *Moralia* with them along with the Bible; see ed. Marcus Adriaen, 3 vols., CCSL 143, 143A, and 143B (Turnhout, 1979–85); Julia Bolton Holloway, *The Pilgrim and the Book: A Study of Dante, Langland, and Chaucer* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992), p. 113; and Leonardo Francescobaldi, *A Visit to the Holy Places, 1384* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1948), p. 35.
 11. For Jerusalem as “pilgrimage of pilgrimages,” see Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims*, p. 12.
 12. Augustine, *Confessiones*, ed. William Watts (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), 10.8, p. 93 and 10.17, p. 120; cited by book, chapter, and page number. See also Gary Wills, *St. Augustine’s Memory* (New York: Viking, 2002).
 13. Augustine, *Confessiones*, 10.8, p. 94 and 10.8, p. 98.
 14. Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski (eds.), *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 5–6.
 15. Regarding the term “Saracen” in its relation to Muslim identity, see Siobhain Bly Calkin’s useful etymological discussion in *Saracens and the Making of English Identity: The Auchinleck Manuscript* (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 2–3. The word “Saracen” came to be used from the twelfth century as a vague catch-all term, specifying Arabic-speaking Muslims. According to Norman Daniel, “‘Saracen’ in many contexts . . . meant ‘Muslim,’ . . . ‘Saracen’ is never used to refer to a Christian Arab,” in *The Arabs in Medieval Europe* (London: Longman, 1975), p. 53; also Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), p. 334, n. 2. For more discussion, see D. R. Blanks, “Western Views of Islam in the Premodern Period: A Brief History of Past Approaches,” in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perceptions of the Other*, eds. D. R. Blanks and M. Frassetto (New York: St. Martin’s, 1999), pp. 11–53.

16. John Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, from *The English Works of John Gower*, ed. G. C. Macaulay, *EETS* ES 81–2, 2 vols. (London, 1900; repr. 1957, 1969), vol. 2, bk. 7, lines 746–54.
17. The English are portrayed as natural travelers since the moon, which is said to govern them, was considered the planet of freedom and passage. Mandeville’s moon quotation links his predilection for travel to his national origin; see the Cotton Version of *TBJM*, ed. M. C. Seymour, in *Mandeville’s Travels* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), ch. 18, pp. 119–20, lines 119.20–120.6. This information does not appear in the Defective Version. For more information on the English predisposition to travel and the medieval encyclopedists, see Suzanne Conklin Akbari, “From Due East to True North: Orientalism and Orientation,” in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000), pp. 19–34.
18. Ranulf Higden, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden monachi Cestrensis*, ed. J. R. Lumby, *RS* 41, 9 vols. (London, 1865–86), vol. 2, p. 169.
19. Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. John Gillingham (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 14. See also Marcus Bull, “Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in Miracle Stories, c. 1000–c. 1200: Reflections on the Study of the Crusaders’ Motivations,” in *The Experience of Crusading: Western Approaches*, eds. Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 13–38; and Christoph T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 52–3.
20. James Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), p. 10. For the difference between *passagium generale* and *passagium particulare*, see Iain Macleod Higgins, *Writing East: The “Travels” of Sir John Mandeville* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), p. 49; and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 210. An approximation of the term “crusader” appears in the 1380s, when crusaders are referred to as *cruce-signatus*; see Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley, *RS* 28A, 2 vols. (London, 1863), vol. 2, p. 71.
21. See examples in *OED*: *crusade* and *crusedo*.
22. The act of “taking up the cross,” as it was called, and “going on pilgrimage” while bearing arms promised the same rewards as unarmed pilgrimage. Urban II was said to have used the term *peregrinatio* in his sermon at Clermont; see Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, bk. 1, pp. 1–3. Devotional language deployed in support of crusade continued in later papal appeals in support of the campaigns; see Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 3, p. 317 and vol. 4, pp. 70–5.
23. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, p. 12; see also James Brundage, “*Cruce signari*: The Rite of Taking the Cross in England,” *Traditio* 22 (1966), 289–310.
24. Regarding the ever-changing distinctions among indulgences earned on armed and unarmed pilgrimage, see Alastair Minnis, “Reclaiming the

- Pardoners,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33.2 (2003), 311–34; see 311; and Robert Swanson, “Letters of Confraternity and Indulgence in Late Medieval England,” *Archives* 25.102 (2000), 40–57; also Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c.1215–c.1414* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 217–20.
25. Bull, “Muslims and Jerusalem,” pp. 21–3; see p. 23.
 26. See Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, pp. 17–31.
 27. Penny Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1991), pp. 1–6.
 28. Cole, *Preaching*, pp. 37–97; and Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, pp. 51–68.
 29. *TBJM* 3/1–5/22.
 30. Penny Cole, “Christians, Muslims, and the ‘Liberation’ of the Holy Land,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 84 (Washington D.C., 1998), 4.
 31. Kathy Lavezzo (ed.), *Imaging a Medieval English Nation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), pp. xv–xvi.
 32. Lynn Staley, *Languages of Power in the Age of Richard II* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), pp. 78–81.
 33. Staley, *Languages*, pp. 4–5 and 75–147.
 34. Heng, *Empire*, p. 66.
 35. Francis Petrarch, *Itinerarium ad sepulchrum domini nostri Iehesu Christi*, ed./trans. Theodore J. Cachey, Jr. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002).
 36. For an extensive discussion of internal pilgrimage, see Dee Dyas, *Pilgrimage in Medieval English Literature, 700–1500* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001), pp. 205–31; see p. 209.
 37. Richard Rolle, *The English Writings of Richard Rolle*, ed. Hope Emily Allen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931); see also Dyas, *Pilgrimage*, p. 214.
 38. Nicholas Love, *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, ed. Michael G. Sargent (New York: Garland Press, 1992), pp. xix–xx.
 39. Edith Turner and Victor Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), pp. 192–3.
 40. I. M. Higgins, “Defining the Earth’s Center in a Medieval Multi-Text: Jerusalem in *The Book of John Mandeville*,” in *Text and Territory*, eds. Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy A. Gilles (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), pp. 29–53; Higgins, *Writing East*; and Mary B. Campbell, “The Object of One’s Gaze: Landscape, Writing, and Early Medieval Pilgrimage,” in *Discovering New Worlds: Essays of Medieval Exploration and Imagination*, ed. Scott D. Westrem (New York: Garland Press, 1991), pp. 3–15.
 41. See, for example, *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, eds. Colin Morris and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Dee Dyas, *Pilgrimage in Medieval English Literature, 700–1500* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001); Susan Signe Morrison, *Women Pilgrims in Late Medieval England* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000); Diana Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (London and New York:

- Hambledon, 2000); Julia Bolton Holloway, *The Pilgrim and the Book*; Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992); and Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (Toronto: J. M. Dent, 1977). This list is in no way exhaustive, and readers are encouraged to consult Dyas' fine bibliography.
42. Scholars include Peter W. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade* (Brookfield, VT: Scolar Press, 1996); Cole, *Preaching*; Simon Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade, 1216–1307* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); Mayer, *The Crusades*; Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986); and Elizabeth Siberry, "Criticism of Crusading in Fourteenth-Century England," in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1985), pp. 124–50. It is impossible to list all valuable sources here; a more extensive bibliography may be found in Edbury, Lloyd, and others.
43. J. G. Davies has treated both pilgrimage and crusade writing together in "Pilgrimage and Crusade Literature," in *Journeys toward God: Pilgrimage and Crusade*, ed. Barbara N. Sargent-Baur (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1991), pp. 1–30.

I. PILGRIMAGE TO JERUSALEM: THREE
ACCOUNTS BY ENGLISH AUTHORS

1. Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Barry A. Windeatt (New York: Longman, 2000).
2. Henry L. Savage, "Pilgrims and Pilgrim Shrines in Palestine and Syria after 1095," in *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. Harry W. Hazard, *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), vol. 4, pp. 66–7. Reinhold Röhricht estimated that there were 526 accounts surviving from 1100–1500. See Reinhold Röhricht and Heinrich Meisner in *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1880), pp. 8–9; and Josephine Brefeld, *A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages* (Amsterdam: Hilversum, 1994), p. 9. For more bibliography, see Reinhold Röhricht, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestina: chronologisches Verzeichnis der von 333 bis 1878 verfassten Literatur über das Heilige Land*, ed. David H. K. Amiran (Jerusalem: Universitas Booksellers, 1963); Nathan Schur, *Jerusalem in Pilgrims' and Travellers' Accounts: A Thematic Bibliography of Western Christian Itineraries 1300–1917* (Jerusalem: Ariel Publishing, 1980); P. Thomsen, *Systematische Bibliographie der Palaestina-Literatur* (Leipzig: Rudolf Haupt, 1908); and Titus Tobler, *Bibliographia Geographica Palaestinae* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1867).
3. G. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933), pp. 56, 61, and 199.

4. Edith Turner and Victor Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), pp. 192–3, 250–5.
5. Simon Coleman and John Eade (eds.), *Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion* (New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 1–25; see p. 3.
6. John Howe, “Creating Symbolic Landscapes: Medieval Development of Sacred Space,” in *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: Senses of Place in Western Europe*, eds. John Howe and Michael Wolfe (Tallahassee, FL: University Press of Florida, 2002), pp. 208–24; Lutz Kaelber, “The Sociology of Medieval Pilgrimage: Contested Views and Shifting Boundaries,” in *Medieval Pilgrimage to Religious Tourism: The Social and Cultural Economics of Piety*, eds. William H. Swatos, Jr., and Luigi Tomasi (Westport, CT: Prager, 2002), pp. 51–74; Genoveffa Palumbo, “La geografia dei pellegrinaggi,” *Internationale Scuola cultura società* 3.7 (2000), 90–9, cited in Tomasi, “*Homo Viator*,” 4; and Luigi Tomasi, “*Homo Viator*: From Pilgrimage to Religious Tourism via the Journey,” in *Medieval Pilgrimage*, pp. 1–24.
7. J. G. Davies divides pilgrimage literature into nine categories: itineraries, diaries, letters, lists of indulgences, aids to devotion, guide books (as a “development” of itineraries and lists of indulgences), travel accounts, maps, and conciliar canons. Davies has found that these same categories exist for the literature of crusade; see “Pilgrimage and Crusade Literature,” in *Journeys toward God: Pilgrimage and Crusade*, ed. Barbara N. Sargent-Baur (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1991), pp. 1–13.
8. *Itinerarium cuiusdam Anglici, 1344–45*, in *Della Terra Sancta e dell’Oriente Franceseano, 1300–1400*, in *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica*, ed. P. Girolamo Golubovich (Florence: Quaracchi Press, 1923), vol. 4, pp. 427–60. The *Itinerarium* is known to exist in the unique manuscript, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 370. I will refer to passages from the *Itinerarium* by folio, chapter, and page number. A translation of the *Itinerarium* exists in *Western Pilgrims: The Itineraries of fr. Simon Fitzsimmons (1322–3), A Certain Englishman (1344–5), Thomas Brygg (1392)*, ed. Eugene Hoade, *Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum* 18 (1952); the translations presented in this study are my own.
9. William Wey, *The Itineraries of William Wey, Fellow of Eton, to Jerusalem, A.D. 1458 and A.D. 1462*, ed. George Williams (London: J. B. Nichols, 1857); and Sir Richard Torkington, *Ye Oldest Diarie of Englysshe Travell, being the hitherto unpublished Narrative of the Pilgrimage of Sir Richard Torkyngton to Jerusalem in 1517*, ed. W. J. Loftie (London: Field and Tuer, 1884).
10. Regarding further discussion on the scholarly traditions of the Mandeville writer’s identity and nationality, see ch. 4.
11. For extant English pilgrim writings from the thirteenth to early sixteenth centuries, Röhricht and Schur list fewer than fifteen texts and fragments by identifiably English pilgrims; see Röhricht, *Bibliotheca Geographica*, pp. 45–190; and Schur, *Travellers’ Accounts*, pp. 115–44.
12. Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, p. 444, “nos tres anglicani soli”; cf. *ibid.*, p. 460.

13. Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, p. 438.
14. As Wey's account shows, Christian clerical guides living in the Holy Land often met visiting pilgrims before they entered the holy city to ensure that they had obtained licenses beforehand; see Wey, *Itineraries*, p. 57.
15. Wey, *Itineraries*, p. II.
16. Eton College was founded by Henry VI in 1442, and Wey took up employment there soon after its establishment. Williams writes that Wey's name is not found among the original Fellows; recently, Penny Hatfield, Eton College Archivist, has confirmed Wey as a Fellow of Eton. Regarding Wey's Exeter affiliation, see Anthony Wood, *Historia Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis voluminibus comprehensae* (Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1674), vol. 2, p. 95. After his career at Eton, Wey may have joined Edyngdon (now Hedington) Monastery, affiliated with the Augustinians, in Wiltshire. Williams speculates that Wey transferred to Hedington soon after his second pilgrimage to the Holy Land; see Williams (ed.), *Itineraries*, pp. 3–4.
17. One of Wey's documents is in the archive at Eton. It is an official letter from Henry VI, dated 1457, granting Wey license to travel on pilgrimage without endangering his fellowship; see ECR 60/3/2, p. 46; I owe thanks to Penny Hatfield, Archivist of Eton College, for this reference. Wey's account of his pilgrimages, Bodleian MS Douce 389, is a small quarto volume written on vellum, probably by Wey. It is in Latin except for Wey's prologue, written in English. The manuscript contains Wey's two journeys to the Holy Land and pilgrimage to St. James of Compostela. He also presents a ten-page verse account of the holy places.
18. Torkington was presented to the rectory by Sir Thomas Boleyn, who was later to become the Earl of Wiltshire and father to Anne Boleyn.
19. Torkington's original manuscript is lost; however, two copies of the original are in the British Library (one sixteenth-century manuscript: BL Add. 28,561; and one eighteenth-century manuscript: BL Add. 28,562).
20. Brefeld, *Guidebook*. For more points of uniformity, see Nicole Chareyron's study in *Les Pèlerins de Jérusalem au Moyen Âge: L'aventure du Saint Voyage d'après Journaux et Mémoires* (Paris: Imago, 2000).
21. Brefeld, *Guidebook*, p. 179. Brefeld substantiates the hypothesis of an original text first suggested by Röhrich and Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, pp. 8–9.
22. Brefeld, *Guidebook*, p. 38. Brefeld notes that "written information about the Holy Land was available to pilgrims, and, furthermore . . . the Franciscan Friars who lived in the Mount Sion monastery kept books with information on Jerusalem and its holy places"; see Brefeld, *Guidebook*, p. 41. See also *Libellus Descriptionis Terrae Sanctae*, in *Le Missioni Francescane in Palestina in altare Regioni della terra* (Rome, 1894), vol. 4, pp. 2–3; and E. Randolph Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1975).
23. Brefeld, *Guidebook*, pp. 38–42.
24. Ivar von Stapelmohr, *Ludolf von Sudheim Reise in Heilige Land nach der Hamberger Handschrift herausgegeben*, in *Lunder Germanistische Forschungen* 6

- (Lund: Håkan Ohlsson, 1937), 13. See Brefeld for further examples regarding pilgrims' use of and reliance on books; see Brefeld, *Guidebook*, pp. 36–45.
25. Richard Guylforde, *The Pylgrimage to the Holy Land, A.D. 1506*, ed. H. Ellis and R. Pynson (London: Camden Society, 1851); Philippe de Voisin, *Voyage à Jérusalem de Philippe de Voisins seigneur de Montaut (1490)*, ed. P. Tamisey de Larroque (Paris: Champion, 1883).
 26. *Informacyon for pylgrymes unto the Holy Londe*, ed. George Henry Freeling (London: Shakespeare Press, 1824). Both M. C. Seymour and Davies note shared characteristics among these texts; Seymour (ed.), *The Defective Version of Mandeville's Travels, EETS OS 319* (Oxford, 2002), p. xxvi; and Davies, "Pilgrimage and Crusade," 10.
 27. *Pylgrimage of Sir Richard Guylforde*, pp. 1–7.
 28. *Pylgrimage of Sir Richard Guylforde*, p. 17.
 29. For more comparisons between the *Informacyon* and the Guylforde text, see Davies, "Pilgrimage and Crusade," 10.
 30. M. C. Seymour (ed.), *The Defective Version of Mandeville's Travels*, p. xxvi.
 31. Wey, *Itineraries*, p. 19.
 32. Wey, *Itineraries*, pp. 22–3. His list of "holy places" or "stations" continues, and he offers seven on the road to Bethlehem, seven in Bethlehem, three outside Bethlehem, nine in the Mountains of Judaea, eight at the Jordan River, and three at Bethany; see *Itineraries*, pp. 24–5.
 33. Other European pilgrims who used lists similarly include Ghillebert de Lannoy, Le Seigneur de Caumont, Hans and Peter Rot, and Gabriel Muffel; see Brefeld, *Guidebook*, p. 50.
 34. Augustine, *Confessiones*, ed. W. Watts, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), vol. 10.8, p. 93 and 10.17, p. 120. See also Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski (eds.), *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 1–14. See my discussion of memory function in ch. 4.
 35. Wey, *Itineraries*, pp. 25–32.
 36. Wey, *Itineraries*, p. 57; originally Latin. Alastair Minnis defines pardon "a pena et a culpa" as "comprehensive pardon from both the punishment of guilt and sin"; for this and his useful discussion on indulgence and pardon, see his "Reclaiming the Pardoners," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33.2 (2003), 311–34; see 311. For a likewise helpful discussion, see Robert Swanson, "Letters of Confraternity and Indulgence in Late Medieval England," *Archives* 25.102 (2000), 40–57; also Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c.1215–c.1414* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 217–20.
 37. According to Wey, "causa peregrinacionis venientibus est remissio omnium peccatorum"; see Wey, *Itineraries*, p. 57.
 38. Wey, *Itineraries*, p. 1.
 39. Wey, *Itineraries*, p. 3.
 40. Wey, *Itineraries*, p. 4.
 41. For a description of these promises, see Wey, *Itineraries*, p. 4.

42. M. Margaret Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Year 1494* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1907), pp. 24–6, 39, and 68–79.
43. The Anonymous sets out on October 13, 1344 and returns to England on September 10, 1345, for a total journey of forty-eight weeks; by comparison, he is in Jerusalem and its environs for eleven days, May 3–14, 1345. Wey's first pilgrimage begins in April 1458, and ends in October of that same year, for a total of about thirty weeks. His second pilgrimage, February 26, 1462 to December 1, 1462, totals thirty-seven weeks. His first visit to Jerusalem and its environs lasts thirteen days, June 21–July 2, 1458, and his second only seven, July 19–26, 1462. Torkington's total travel time, March 20, 1517 to April 17, 1518, makes his the longest sojourn at fifty-seven weeks; however, his seven-week stay in Venice, together with his six-week convalescence on Rhodes and lengthy weather delays, make up this difference. He is in Jerusalem and its environs for two weeks, from July 18 to August 2, 1518. These accounts suggest that summer was the "peak season" for pilgrims in Jerusalem.
44. Jonathan Sumption offers a good description of the journey; see his *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion* (London: Faber & Faber, 1975), pp. 175–92 and 206.
45. Wey says that pilgrims should purchase their beds from this vendor because that man will repay them when they return it, even if the bed is "broken." Wey, *Itineraries*, pp. 5–6.
46. Wey, *Itineraries*, p. 5.
47. *Ibid.*
48. Torkington, *Diarie*, p. 26.
49. Torkington, *Diarie*, p. 1.
50. For St. John and Diner, see Torkington, *Diarie*, p. 3.
51. Torkington, *Diarie*, p. 18.
52. Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, p. 439.
53. Chareyron also notes this trend prevalent in contemporary European and English writings; see *Pèlerins*, pp. 41–57.
54. For European examples, Chareyron, *Pèlerins*, pp. 103–31; Brefeld, *Guidebook, passim*.
55. Torkington, *Diarie*, p. 22.
56. Torkington, *Diarie*, p. 23.
57. *Ibid.* Like Wey, and unlike the Anonymous, Torkington is fastidious about noting the penance available at each site. This practice becomes so ordinary for him that later in his narrative he, too, adopts a short-hand style of listing the place visited and the amount of forgiveness available, writing, for example, the words "Clene remission" after a lengthy description of a stone in the Garden of Gethsemane; see Torkington, *Diarie*, p. 28. See also note 36.
58. Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, p. 449. See also Canticum Canticorum 6:9.
59. Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, p. 450. The content of *Capitulum* 7 is similar to Mandeville's description of Muslims, particularly the anecdote about their sandals; see *TBJM* 56/10–64/3.

60. Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, p. 451.
61. Torkington, *Diarie*, p. 26.
62. Torkington, *Diarie*, pp. 28–30.
63. Torkington, *Diarie*, pp. 33–7.
64. Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, p. 435.
65. Torkington, *Diarie*, p. 41.
66. Torkington, *Diarie*, pp. 44–5.
67. Torkington, *Diarie*, pp. 49–50.
68. Wey, *Itineraries*, p. 71. The priests Wey and Torkington are allowed to assist the friars in offering the mass and confessional services to the lay pilgrims.
69. Wey, *Itineraries*, p. 67.
70. Wey, *Itineraries*, p. 68; originally Latin.
71. Wey, *Itineraries*, p. 70.
72. Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, pp. 451–3.
73. Seeing such remains reminds the pilgrim of the liturgy, “Unde cantat ecclesia: *Circumdede runt me viri mendaces, sine causa flagellis ceciderunt me*” [whence the Church sings: *deceptive men surrounded me, they struck me with whips for no reason*]; see Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, p. 453. This is the Response to the Third Lesson of Feria IV, *majoris Hebdomadae*.
74. Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, p. 453.
75. For other medieval Passion meditations which employ these images, see Nicholas Love, *Mirroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christi*, ed. Michael G. Sargent (New York: Garland Press, 1992); and Julian of Norwich, *A Book of Showings* (The Long Version) in *A Book of Showings to the anchoress Julian of Norwich*, eds. Edmund Colledge and James Walsh, 2 vols. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1978), pp. 279–734.
76. On Christ’s body and pilgrimage, see Dee Dyas, *Pilgrimage in Medieval English Literature, 700–1500* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001), pp. 56–65; Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ in the Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 310–65; and Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, pp. 44–51.
77. Marcus Bull, “Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in Miracle Stories, c.1000–c.1200: Reflections on the Study of the First Crusaders’ Motivations,” in *The Experience of Crusading: Western Approaches*, eds. Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 13–38; see p. 34.
78. Bernard of Angers, *Liber miraculorum Sancte Fidis*, ed. L. Robertini, *Biblioteca di medioevo latino* 10 (Spoleto, 1994), 153–7; cited in Bull, “Views of Muslims,” pp. 34–6.
79. Julia Bolton Holloway, *The Pilgrim and the Book* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992), p. 152.
80. Brefeld, *Guidebook*, p. 18; also Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, p. 184.
81. Chareyron, *Pèlerins*, pp. 65–85.
82. Torkington, *Diarie*, p. 57.
83. Regarding the way to Cyprus, see Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, p. 445.
84. Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, p. 446.

85. Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, p. 449.
86. Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, p. 458.
87. See Psalms 17:8.
88. Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, p. 458.
89. Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, p. 449.
90. For a survey of contemporary accounts that also depict degradation by Muslim guides, see Chareyron, *Pèlerins*, pp. 92–100, 145–54.
91. Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, p. 457.
92. Chareyron, *Pèlerins*, p. 154.
93. For more information, see D. R. Blanks, “Western Views of Islam in the Pre-Modern Period: A Brief History of Past Approaches,” in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of the Other*, eds. D. R. Blanks and M. Frassetto (New York: St. Martin’s Press: 1999), pp. 11–53.
94. Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, pp. 444–5.
95. *Ibid.*
96. Biblical translations in English are taken from *The Holy Bible: The Catholic Bible – Douay-Rheims Version*, ed. William H. McClellan (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1941).
97. Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, p. 445.
98. Concerning the strength attributed to the Philistines and their portrayal as God’s adversaries, see I Samuel 4:1, 6:1, 7:10, 13:4, 14:4, 17:8, and 17:49.
99. See Ranulf Higden who refers to the Maccabees in order to illustrate that God plans to overcome the Muslim army with just a few men, in *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden monachi Cestrensis*, ed. J. R. Lumby, RS 41, 9 vols. (London, 1865–86), vol. 7, pp. 120 and 395–6.
100. Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, p. 448.
101. Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, p. 457.
102. Wey, *Itineraries*, p. 58.
103. Torkington, *Diarie*, p. 24. See also his description of St. Anne’s house; he explains that it is no longer accessible for “Sarrasyns have made ther of a mosque”; see Torkington, *Diarie*, p. 31.
104. Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, p. 457.
105. Wey, *Itineraries*, p. 59.
106. Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, p. 460.
107. Wey, *Itineraries*, pp. 84–8.
108. Wey, *Itineraries*, pp. 89–90.
109. Wey, *Itineraries*, pp. 91–2.
110. Similar interest is also well documented in contemporary European sources; see Chareyron, *Pèlerins*, pp. 41–64.
111. See William H. Swatos, Jr., and Luigi Tomasi, eds., *Medieval Pilgrimage to Religious Tourism, passim*.
112. Anonymous, *Itinerarium*, p. 446.
113. Wey, *Itineraries*, p. 98.
114. *Ibid.*

2. CRAVING HERITAGE: PORTRAYALS OF RICHARD I
AND THE ENGLISH QUEST FOR JERUSALEM
IN *RICHARD, COER DE LYON*

1. *Richard Löwenherz* [*Richard Coer de Lyon*], ed. Karl Brunner, *Wiener Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie* 42 (Wien and Leipzig, 1913), 1–604. I use this edition throughout, referring to it by the line numbers assigned by Brunner. Roger S. Loomis reviews this edition's apparatus in "Reviews and Notes," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 15 (1916), 455–66. To date, the only other complete edition of this romance is by Henry Weber, in *Metrical Romances of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries: Published from Ancient Manuscripts* (Edinburgh, 1810), vol. 2, pp. 3–278.
2. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Verso, 1991), p. 6.
3. Susan Crane, *Insular Romance: Politics, Faith, and Culture in Anglo-Norman and Middle English Literature* (Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1986), p. 106; and Diane Speed, "The Construction of the Nation in Medieval English Romance," in *Readings in Medieval Romance*, ed. Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994), p. 146.
4. Alan S. Ambrisco, "Cannibalism and Cultural Encounters in *Richard Coer de Lyon*," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 29:3 (1999), 503–7.
5. Thorlac Turville-Petre, *England the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity, 1290–1340* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 115–23; Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 63–114; also Heng, "The Romance of England: *Richard Coer de Lyon*, Saracens, Jews, and the Politics of Race and Nation," in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey J. Cohen (London: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 135–71; see pp. 159–60.
6. Suzanne Conklin Akbari, "The Hunger for National Identity in *Richard Coer de Lyon*," in *Reading Medieval Culture*, eds. Robert Stein and Sandra Prior (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), pp. 198–227.
7. Baha al-Din, *an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyya wa l-mahasin al-yusufiyya*, in *RHC, Orient* (Paris, 1884), vol. 3, pp. 274–5; and Francesco Gabrielli (ed.), *Arab Histories of the Crusades*, trans. E. J. Costello (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969, repr. 1984), pp. 225–6.
8. Lynn Staley, Marc Bloch, and others have remarked on "sacral identity" of French kings – an identity the scale of which English kings did not have. In this chapter, I refer to the concept of sacramental rule that Staley and Bloch discuss; however, as I mention in the introduction to this study, I add to their discussion of this "sacralizing" process the use of Jerusalem. See Lynn Staley, *Languages of Power in the Age of Richard II* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), pp. 80–1; and Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. J. E. Anderson (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), p. 79.

9. “John of Würzburg: Letter to Dietrich,” in *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex seculis 8, 9, 12, and 15*, ed./trans. Titus Tobler (Leipzig: J. C. Heinrichs, 1874), pp. 108–92; see pp. 153–4. Cited in *The Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099–1185*, eds. John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill, and W. F. Ryan (London: Hakluyt Society, 1988), pp. 264–5.
10. According to Brunner’s designations, the five *b* (or shorter version) manuscripts are: L (Auchinleck MS, Nat. Lib. Scotland, Advocates 19.2.1, c. 1330); E (B. L. Egerton 2862, late 14th c.); H (B. L. Harley 4690, 15th c.); A (London, College of Arms, Arundel 58, dated 1448); and D (Bodleian Library, Douce 228, late 15th c.). The *a* (or longer version) manuscripts are: C (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 175, late 14th or early 15th c.); B (Thornton MS: B. L. Add. 31042, c. 1450); and W₁ and W₂ (Wynkyn de Worde’s 1509 and 1528 printed versions). There is also a one-folio fragment: Badminton House MS 704.1.16. Brunner suggests that none of these manuscripts is the source for any other, although Norman Davis disagrees; see Brunner, *Richard*, pp. 14–17; Norman Davis, “Another Fragment of *Richard Coer de Lyon*,” *Notes and Queries* n.s. 16 (1969), 451; and Gisela Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Romances* (Munich: W. Fink, 1976), pp. 79, 83, 121–4, 161, 182, 205, 216, and 263.
11. The *a* version exceeds *b* by about 1200 lines, with the amplification consisting of Richard’s birth, his diabolical mother, and the account of Richard’s joust in disguise against three opponents. The *a* version then continues where *b* begins: with Richard’s crusade preparations.
12. “In Frenssche bookys þis rym is wrou3t”; see *Richard* 21 and 5100–1. Turville-Petre suggests that Robert Manning’s *Chronicle* refers to the lost French text of the romance; see *England the Nation*, p. 79.
13. To date, there is no actual evidence for the existence of an Anglo-Norman version. Speculating nevertheless that there is one, Gaston Paris dates the composition of the Anglo-Norman poem to c. 1230, with the Kentish translation following in the late thirteenth century, and subsequent interpolations in the fourteenth century; see Gaston Paris, “Le Roman de Richard, Coer de Lion,” *Romania* 26 (1897), 362 and 385 ff.; and Roger S. Loomis, “*Richard Coer de Lion* and the *Pas Saladin* in Medieval Art,” *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 30 (1915), 509–28; see 511. Paris, “Roman de Richard,” 353–4; and Loomis, “*Richard*,” 510.
14. In this case, manuscript B, with its added material between lines 2994 and 2995, “Her baner was peynted, so seith þe Latyn,/Wiþ iii bores hefdes of golde fyne,” suggests that there may also have been a Latin source (italics mine). See also MS A, f. 264a. At the same time, this reference to “Latin” can be vague, and may not refer specifically to that language; see *MED* 1 (c).
15. Heng, “Romance,” 159 and 170–1, n. 60.
16. Loomis, “*Richard*,” 522.
17. Helen J. Nicholson, ed./trans., *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the “Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi”* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 1997), p. 3. Partial accounts of Richard’s military career exist in

- works by Richard of Devizes, Ralph of Coggeshall, and William of Newburgh. See Richard of Devizes, *Chronicon Richardi Divisensis De Tempore Regis Richardi Primi*, ed. John T. Appleby (Toronto and New York: Thomas Nelson, 1963); Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. Joseph Stevenson, RS 66B (London, 1857; repr. Kraus, 1965); and William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicanum*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. Richard Howlett, RS 82, 4 vols. (London, 1884). Later medieval sources are Ranulf Higden, Peter de Langtoft, and Walter de Hemingburgh. See Ranulf Higden, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis*, ed. Joseph R. Lumby, RS 41, 9 vols. (London, 1865–86), vols. 7–8; referred to hereafter as *Polychronicon*, with book number, followed by chapter and page number. See also Peter de Langtoft, *The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft*, ed. Thomas Wright, RS 47, 2 vols. (London, 1868), vol. 2; and Walter de Hemingburgh, *Chronica Walteri de Gyseburne de Gestis Regum Anglie*, ed. Henry Rothwell, *Camden Series* 89 (London: Camden Society, 1957).
18. Finlayson, *Richard*, p. 176. Ambroise, *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ed. Marianne Ailes and Malcolm Barber (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003); Roger of Howden, *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houdene*, ed. William Stubbs, RS 51, 4 vols. (London, 1868); hereafter, *Chronica*. Also his *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, ed. William Stubbs, RS 49, 2 vols. (London, 1867); hereafter, *Gesta*. See also *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, ed. William Stubbs, RS 38, 2 vols. (London, 1865), vol. 1; references listed by book number followed by chapter and page. Latin translations of the *Itinerarium* are from Nicholson's edition. Latin translations of Roger of Howden and other chroniclers are my own.
 19. Richard's clerk, Roger of Howden, was an eye-witness of the Third Crusade until he left the Holy Land with Philip in August of 1191. From then on, he constructed his history through correspondence. I have selected the *Itinerarium* since its later accretions make it a rich source of later medieval sentiment regarding Richard's crusading involvement. Authorship and dating of the *Itinerarium* are disputed; however, Nicholson makes a good case that the account was written by an English crusader shortly after the siege of Acre; see Nicholson (ed.), *Chronicle*, pp. 6–9.
 20. John Finlayson notes that chronicles contemporary with and slightly later than the Third Crusade include the "apparently fabulous" aspects of Richard's career which make him a national hero and appear in the romance; see "Legendary Ancestors and the Expansion of Romance in *Richard, Coer De Lyon*," *English Studies* 79.4 (1998), 299–308; see 300. See also John Gillingham, *Richard Coer de Lion* (London: Hambledon Press, 1994), p. 147; and Rosalind Field, "Romance as History, History as Romance," in *Romance in Medieval England*, eds. M. Mills, J. Fellows, and Carol Meale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 166–9.
 21. For French uses of this trope, see J. R. Strayer, "France: The Holy Land, the Chosen People and the Most Christian King," in *Medieval Statecraft and the*

- Perspectives of History*, eds. J. F. Benton and T. N. Bisson (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971), pp. 300–14; esp. pp. 303, 306–7; and C. Beaune, *Naissance de la France* (Paris: Gallimard, 1985), pp. 172–5. For examples in artwork, see Alyce A. Jordan, “Stained Glass and the Liturgy: Performing the Sacral Kingship in Capetian France,” in *Objects, Images, and the Word*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), pp. 274–97.
22. The knights Thomas Multon and Fulk D’Oilly did exist, though they were never mentioned in any account of the crusades. Finlayson speculates that the poet’s insertion of these men as generals into the *Richard* romance was meant to glorify his or his patron’s Lincolnshire family. The names do not appear in the Auchinleck fragment, again suggesting that their appearance is a later accretion; see John Finlayson, “Richard, Coer de Lyon: Romance, History or Something in Between?,” *Studies in Philology* 87 (1990), 166; Brunner (ed.), *Richard Löwenherz*, pp. 11–24 and 464–5; and Laura Hibbard Loomis, *Medieval Romance in England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1924; repr. 1960), pp. 148–9.
 23. Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 69.
 24. Richard Southern, “England’s First Entry into Europe,” in *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970), pp. 138–9.
 25. Gillingham, *Richard*, p. 181.
 26. Loomis, “Richard,” 523–4. Loomis notes that in other French poems, particularly those originating near Flanders, Richard is treated more “leniently.” This suggests that some poets in those regions that held sometime alliances with Richard depicted him more favorably.
 27. *Le Pas Saladin*, ed. Larry S. Crist, *Saladin: suite et fin du deuxième Cycle de la croisade* (Geneva: Droz, 1972).
 28. Akbari, “Hunger,” 200–6.
 29. See the account of several miracles in the *Itinerarium*, bk. 1, pp. 47–57.
 30. Regarding the one one-hundredth, see *Itinerarium*, bk. 4.19, p. 275. The *Itinerarium* chronicler says that, in waging the Third Crusade, 300,000 Christians lost their lives at Acre, and 100,000 others were lost in other military operations over the two years; *ibid.*, bk. 4.35, p. 440.
 31. This is a flame believed to kindle itself and which Saladin himself cannot extinguish; see *Itinerarium*, bk. 5.16, pp. 328–9.
 32. The legend itself began in the fifth century; however, this may be one of the earliest associations of St. George with England. See William Nelson (ed.), *The Life of St. George by Alexander Barclay*, EETS OS 230 (London, 1960), pp. xxiii–xxiv; and J. E. Matzke, “Contributions to the History of the Legend of Saint George,” *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 17 (1902), 464–535.
 33. Richard’s illness documented: see *Itinerarium*, bk. 3.4, p. 214. Both Richard and Philip were ill at various points; see *Itinerarium*, bk. 3.18, p. 235. Cf. *Richard*, 3041–8. For more on Richard’s cannibalism, see Heng, “Romance,” 135 and 163, n. 8; and Richard of Devizes, *Chronicon*, p. 81.

34. See Heng, “Romance,” who characterizes Richard’s cannibalism as a joke. Here, the eucharistic host of the bread representing Christ’s body has been substituted with the very real bodies of the Muslim adversaries.
35. For the implications of these characteristics, see Akbari, “Hunger,” 206–10.
36. See also 3648–55, and 3665–9.
37. See Romans 12:15; I Corinthians 6:15, 10:16–17, 12:12; Ephesians 3:6 and 4:16.
38. Hans Askenasy, *Cannibalism: From Sacrifice to Survival* (Amherst: Prometheus Books, 1994), pp. 24–30.
39. Heng, *Empire*, p. 29.
40. Heng defines cannibalism committed by Christians on crusade as a source of cultural trauma because of its significance as both sinful and contaminating; *Empire*, pp. 26–7; 316, n. 19.
41. *La Chanson d’Antioche*, ed. Suzanne Duparc-Quioc, 2 vols. (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1976); and *La Conquête de Jérusalem*, ed. Celestin Hippeau (Paris: A. Aubrey, 1858).
42. *La Chanson d’Antioche*, laisses 174–5.
43. Heng, *Empire*, pp. 33; 319, n. 32; and 320, n. 34.
44. Heng, *Empire*, p. 65.
45. Akbari, “Hunger,” 198–227; Ambrisco, “Cannibalism,” 503–7; Heng, *Empire*, pp. 63–114; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Nicola McDonald, “Eating People and the Alimentary Logic of *Richard Coeur de Lion*,” in *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England*, ed. Nicola McDonald (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 124–50; and Merrall Llewelyn Price, *Consuming Passions: The Uses of Cannibalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2003). See also *Food and Eating in Medieval Europe*, eds. Martha Carlin and Joel Rosenthal (London: Hambledon, 1998); and Maggie Kilgour, *Communion to Cannibalism: An Anatomy of Metaphors of Incorporation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).
46. Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 269–71.
47. Such use of the Muslim body echoes, albeit in a rather gruesome way, the manner in which the Muslim presence in the Holy Land was assumed into pilgrim writing. While pilgrim itineraries assimilated Muslim aggression into their devotion, the *Richard* romance absorbs them as a sign of English monarchical might and divine preference. As I discuss in ch. 1, the Muslim presence, while threatening, also contributed positive aspects to the pilgrim experience, and added to the pilgrim’s perception of sacred suffering. Interactions with the Other as a benefit to medieval Christians also relate to a Jewish point of origin, and are discussed in ch. 3.
48. Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 135–45.
49. Kaeuper, *Chivalry*, p. 148.
50. Kaeuper, *Chivalry*, p. 172.

51. Kaeuper, *Chivalry*, pp. 176–85.
52. The event is dated August 16, 1191; see *Itinerarium*, bk. 4.4, p. 243; and Nicholson (ed.), *Chronicle*, p. 231, n. 7.
53. He is also angered by some of Philip's men for not slaughtering the entire population of a Muslim town; see 3823–9 and 4690–6. Yet according to the *Itinerarium*, Richard does accept ransom for hostages at the battle of Acre and allows some of its inhabitants to go free; see *Itinerarium*, bk. 3.18, pp. 232–4.
54. There is a numerical discrepancy between the romance and chronicles. According to the *Itinerarium* and other chronicles, on August 16, 1191, Richard ordered 2,700 Muslim hostages from Acre beheaded; see *Itinerarium*, bk. 4.4, p. 243; and Nicholson (ed.), *Chronicle*, p. 231, n. 7.
55. This passage evokes biblical parallels to Joshua 6:16–17 and 7:1–13 where God commanded Joshua to destroy every person and all goods in the cities he attacked.
56. *Itinerarium*, bk. 4.6, pp. 244–5; *Chronicle*, p. 232.
57. *Itinerarium*, bk. 5.29, p. 343; *Chronicle*, p. 309.
58. Augustine's definition of a just war required *auctoritas principis* [royal authority], *causa iusta* [just cause], and *intentio recta* [right intention]; see Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, eds. Bernard Dombart and Alfonso Kalb, *CCSL* 47–8 (Turnhout, 1955), bk. 19, ch. 12; *Questiones in Heptateuchum*, *PL* 34 (Paris, 1887), bk. 6, ch. 10; and Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, p. 19. "By the late eleventh century . . . Western Christendom had arrived at a concept of . . . holy war . . . Although it was built upon the Augustinian notion of the just war, the holy war went beyond the positions which Augustine had set forth. Not only was the war considered not offensive to God, but it was thought to be positively pleasing to Him"; *ibid.*, p. 29.
59. "quocunque se vertit ensis devorans carnes" [his sword devoured flesh wherever he turned]; see *Itinerarium*, bk. 6.23, p. 422; *Chronicle*, p. 367; and Deuteronomy 32:42.
60. "he is not like the rest of humanity," and "his exploits are superhuman"; see *Itinerarium*, bk. 6.24, p. 424; and *Chronicle*, pp. 368–9.
61. *Itinerarium*, bk. 4.22, pp. 279–80; *Chronicle*, pp. 260–1.
62. Ambrisco, "Cannibalism," 507.
63. Kaeuper notes, chivalry itself "rested on the very fusion of prowess and piety," *Chivalry*, p. 47. See also Richard W. Kaeuper, "Chivalry and the 'Civilizing Process,'" in *Violence in Medieval Society*, ed. Richard W. Kaeuper (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2000), pp. 21–35; see p. 26.
64. Ambrisco, "Cannibalism," 507.
65. A term usually applied to French kings, Strayer and Beaune discuss its use in French literature, particularly with reference to the important role of Christian spiritual leadership attributed to the French monarch. Nicholas Vincent has suggested that the medieval use of "Christianissimus rex" applied to an English king may have been "intentionally provocative," articulating a form of spiritual competition between England and France. For an example, see Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Henry Richards

- Luard, *RS* 57, 5 vols. (London, 1874), vol. 4, pp. 641 and 643. See also Strayer, “France: The Holy Land,” 303, 306–7; Beaune, *Naissance*, pp. 172–5; and Nicholas Vincent, *The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 21–2.
66. See ch. 3.
 67. *Itinerarium*, bk. 1.1, p. 5; *Chronicle*, p. 23.
 68. *Itinerarium*, bk. 1, p. 6; *Chronicle*, p. 23.
 69. *Itinerarium*, bk. 1.42, p. 92; *Chronicle*, p. 97.
 70. This divine support is implied in other instances; see *Itinerarium*, bk. 4.23, p. 423.
 71. Paris suggests that the cult of Richard provided an English version of the French cult of Charlemagne; the veneration of Richard may have been encouraged by Henry III as an aspect of his rivalry with Louis IX, the crusading heir of the Carolingians; see Paris, “Roman,” 387.
 72. Compare with *Itinerarium*, bk. 2.5, p. 143.
 73. *Itinerarium*, bk. 4.23, p. 422; Trevet, *Annales*, p. 117; and Richard of Devizes, *Chronicon*, p. 155.
 74. Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 3, pp. 129–30. Richard calls Philip’s behavior “an insult to my Lord,” vol. 3, p. 123. Likewise in the *Itinerarium*, crusaders curse Philip, and call his departure “shameful” and “outrageous”; bk. 3.21, p. 236 and bk. 3.22, p. 238.
 75. Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 3, p. 155.
 76. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, pp. 121–2.
 77. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, pp. 122–4.
 78. Medieval ecclesiastical rules allowed that surrogate pilgrimages, that is, those carried out by one person on behalf of another, earned the same spiritual rewards as actual pilgrimages; see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 193.
 79. Higden, *Polychronicon*, bk. 7.27, p. 120.
 80. *Itinerarium*, bk. 5.49, p. 369. According to the poet and Ambroise, this is the only time that Richard sees Jerusalem. This portrayal also suggests an exegetical comparison between Richard and Moses who, in the Old Testament, was allowed to see but not enter the Promised Land; see Deuteronomy 32:48–51 and 34:1–4.
 81. For “God’s own pilgrim,” see *Richard*, 1230. The ascension is seen in a vision by the Bishop of Rochester; see Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Henry G. Hewlett, *RS* 84, 3 vols. (London, 1886–9), vol. 3, p. 21.
 82. Nicholas Trevet, *Annales: Sex Regum Angliae, Qui a comitibus andegavensibus originem traxerunt*, 1136–1307, ed. Thomas Hog (London: Sumptibus Societatis, 1845), pp. 228–9.
 83. *Itinerarium*, bk. 2.13, p. 156; *Chronicle*, pp. 156–7.
 84. *Itinerarium*, bk. 2.13, p. 157; *Chronicle*, p. 157.
 85. Regarding Richard, see 2925, 7251, and 6020; see also “werreour kene” on 6249. Regarding Philip, see 4719, 4761, 4767, and 5472–4.

86. See examples in *MED*: *grifon*. See also Tobler-Lommatzsch *altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*, eds. Adolf Tobler and Erhard Lommatzsch, 11 vols. (Weisbaden: F. Steiner, 1955): *grifon*. According to Nicholson, the term “griffon” could also be used to designate Muslim peoples; she refers to *Le Charroi de Nîmes*, in *Chansons de geste du XIIe siècle*, ed. Duncan McMillan (Paris: Editions Klincksieck, 1972), vol. 1, p. 976. See Nicholson (ed.), *Chronicle*, p. 155, n. 45.
87. See also 1872–8, 1957–60, 2125, and 2158.
88. See Finlayson, *Richard*, p. 170; and Gillingham, *Richard*, p. 160. The poem states, “the Frennshe and Gryffons doune ryghtes / [Slew] there oure Englysshe knyghtes”; see 1771–2.
89. For more on French participation as a liability, see Crane, *Insular Romance*, 107–8.
90. Henry is terrified by the Saracen army: “‘No tungge,’ he seyde, ‘may hem telle; / ‘I wene þey comen out off helle’”; see 6695–702 and 6703–4.
91. Richard receives the command from an angel; see 3750. See Joshua 6:16–17, 7:1–13.
92. In contrast to Richard, who is described as “curteys and ffree,” Philip is portrayed as selfish and ignoble; see 3781.
93. Regarding the French, see 3849, 5460–6, and 5667–72; regarding the English, see 2276, 3930, 4404, and 4980.
94. The Sultan’s sentiment is close to that of Saladin. Arabic chronicles show that Islamic leaders took Richard to task on his claims of inheritance; see Baha’ al-Din, *an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyya wa l-mahasin al-yusufiyya (Sultanly Anecdotes and Josephly Virtues)*, in *RHC, Orient.* (Paris, 1884), vol. 3, pp. 287–91. Translated in Gabrieli, *Arab Histories*, p. 229. Yusuf was Saladin’s personal name. See also H. A. R. Gibb, “The Arabic Sources for the Life of Saladin,” *Speculum* 25 (1950), 58–72.
95. Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 3, p. 132; and Pope Innocent III’s letter to the English, August 13, 1198, *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 73.
96. *Itinerarium*, bk. 4.31, p. 295; *Chronicle*, p. 272.
97. Depictions of Muslim reactions to Richard’s claims may be found in the works of Saladin’s own chroniclers and later redactors. Baha’ al-Din provides an outline of Jerusalem’s significance to Islam, offering Saladin’s letter of response to Richard’s demand for the city, *Sultanly Anecdotes*, vol. 3, pp. 274–5; and Gabrieli, *Crusades*, pp. 225–6. See also ‘Imad al-Din: “Jerusalem is the Home of the Masjid al-Aqsa and the Rock,” *Conquête de la Syrie*, pp. 57–60; and Gabrieli, *Crusade*, pp. 151–4. Gabrieli iterates, “Jerusalem is God’s second house after the *Ka’ba* at Mecca, and the third sacred precinct after Mecca and Medina”; *Crusade*, p. 152, n. 3. See the Qur’an XVII.1.
98. Nicholson (ed.), *Chronicle*, p. 272, n. 85.
99. Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, pp. 328–9; also Gillingham, *Richard*, pp. 144–60; and C. W. David, *Robert Curthose* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920), pp. 190–200.

100. For rumors and enlisting of the clergy, see Sumption, *Hundred Years War*, pp. 449–50.
101. John M. Bowers, “Chaucer After Retters: The Wartime Origins of English Literature,” in *Inscribing the Hundred Years War in French and English Cultures*, ed. Denise N. Baker (New York: State University of New York Press, 2000), p. 93.
102. Crane, *Insular Romance*, pp. 59–60.
103. Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* (hereafter, *HA*), ed. Henry Thomas Riley, *RS* 28A, 2 vols. (London, 1863), vol. 2, p. 89.
104. In *Richard* (1830), as well as in other gestes, romances, and chronicles, “dog” was a common epithet used against those of Muslim descent. For more discussion, see Jeffrey J. Cohen, “Gowther Among the Dogs: Becoming Human in the Fourteenth Century,” in *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. J. Cohen and B. Wheeler (New York: Garland, 1997), pp. 219–44; see pp. 235–44.
105. Walsingham, *HA*, vol. 2, p. 72.
106. See ch. 5 for discussion regarding medieval sentiment over inter-Christian warfare in the Hundred Years War and Papal Schism.
107. Bowers, “Chaucer after Retters,” 93; and Thomas Bradwardine, *Sermo Epinicius*, eds. Heiko A. Oberman and James A. Weisheipl (Paris: J. Vrin, 1959), pp. 323–34.

3. THE CRUSADE OF THE SOUL IN *THE SIEGE* OF JERUSALEM

1. *The Siege of Jerusalem*, eds. Ralph Hanna III and David Lawton, *EETS OS* 320 (Oxford, 2003). Another edition is that by E. Kölbing and Mabel Day, *EETS OS* 188 (London, 1932). References to the poem in this chapter are from Hanna and Lawton, cited by line number. Portions of this chapter have been previously published in my article “*The Siege of Jerusalem* and Biblical Exegesis: Writing about Romans in Fourteenth-Century England,” *The Chaucer Review* 39.1 (2004), 70–102. I thank *The Chaucer Review* for graciously allowing the reproduction of part of that article here.
2. Christine Chism, “*The Siege of Jerusalem*: Liquidating Assets,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28.2 (1998), 309–40; see pp. 309–10.
3. Hanna and Lawton (eds.), *Siege*, pp. xxx–xxxvi; and Ralph Hanna III, “Contextualizing *The Siege of Jerusalem*,” *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 6 (1992), 14. I am grateful to Hanna for his confirming Bolton Priory as the site of textual provenance. Hanna says that Lancastrian affinity in this area was “thick on the ground,” and suggests further connections with Knaresborough, the center of one administrative unit of the duchy (under the Plumpton), which was only five or six miles away from Bolton. See also Chism, “Liquidating Assets,” 334, n. 1.
4. Hanna and Lawton (eds.), *Siege*, pp. xiii–xxvi; and Mary Hamel, “*The Siege of Jerusalem* as a Crusading Poem,” in *Journeys toward God: Pilgrimage and*

- Crusade*, ed. Barbara N. Sargent-Baur (Kalamazoo: University of Michigan Press, 1992), p. 187.
5. *The Croxton Play of the Sacrament*, in *Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments*, ed. Norman Davis, *EETS* SS 1 (Oxford, 1970).
 6. Cecilia Cutts, “The Croxton Play: An Anti-Lollard Piece,” *Modern Language Quarterly* 5 (1944), 45–60; and Gail M. Gibson, *The Theatre of Devotion: East Anglican Society in the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp. 35–8. Note the distinction that the Jews are not identified as heretics (those who abandon Christianity), but those who reject it.
 7. Steven F. Kruger, “The Bodies of Jews in the Late Middle Ages,” in *The Idea of Medieval Literature: New Essays on Chaucer and Medieval Culture in Honor of Donald R. Howard*, eds. James M. Dean and Christian K. Zacher (London and Toronto: Associated University Press, 1992), pp. 301–23. See also his study which revises approaches to Jewish identity in *The Spectral Jew: Conversion and Embodiment in Medieval Europe* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006). For current assessments of Jewish identity in the Croxton play, see David Lawton, “Sacrilege and Theatricality: The Croxton *Play of the Sacrament*,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33.2 (2003), 281–309.
 8. Sheila Delany, *Chaucer and the Jews: Sources, Contexts, Meanings* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), p. ix; regarding the term “absent presence,” Delany refers to Gloria Cigman, “The Jew as an Absent-Presence in Late Medieval England.” The Seventeenth Sacks Lecture of the Oxford Center for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies, delivered May 29, 1991; see Delany, *Chaucer*, p. xi. “Absent presence” theories are, of course, complicated by the fact that historical documentation shows a succession of Jewish people entering or living in England during the three centuries after the expulsion; see Michael Adler, “History of the *Domus Conversorum*,” *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, 1899–1901*, 4 (1903), 16–75; and Reva B. Brown and Sean McCartney, “Living in Limbo: The Experience of Jewish Converts in Medieval England,” in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, eds. Gyuda Armstrong and Ian Wood (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).
 9. Hamel, “*Siege*,” pp. 177–80. Following a similar typological method, but with a different interpretation, Suzanne Conklin Akbari has shown that the identity of the *Siege* Jew is intertwined not only with that of medieval Jews, but also with that of both the Christian and Muslim; see her “Placing the Jews in Late Medieval Literature,” in *Orientalism and the Jews*, eds. Derek Penslar and Ivan Kalmar (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2005), pp. 32–50.
 10. Hanna, “Contextualizing,” pp. 110–11. See also David Lawton, “Titus Goes Hunting and Hawking: The Poetics of Recreation and Revenge in *The Siege of Jerusalem*,” in *Individuality and Achievement in Middle English Poetry*, ed. O. S. Pickering (Woodbridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 1997), pp. 113–14; Lawton’s interpretation also posits a uniquely Jewish presence in the poem.
 11. Elisa Narin van Court, “*The Siege of Jerusalem* and Augustinian Historians: Writing About Jews in Fourteenth-Century England,” *The Chaucer Review* 29.3 (1995), 228. This article has been reprinted in *Chaucer and the*

- Jews: Sources, Contexts, Meanings*, ed. Sheila Delany (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 165–84. My chapter will refer to the *Chaucer Review* page numbers. Bonnie Millar also comments on the role of the Jews in *The Siege of Jerusalem in its Physical, Literary and Historical Contexts* (Portland, OR: Four Courts Press, 2000).
12. Akbari, “Placing the Jews,” 32–3.
 13. Matthew of Paris describes Innocent III’s interactions with the Veil in 1216; see *Chronica majora*, ed. Henry R. Luard, *RS* 57 (London, 1874), vol. 3, pp. 7–8. For discussion of the Veil and image, see Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult: Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1991), pp. 246–52.
 14. A fourteenth-century English audience would have been familiar with the sacred object, for with the instability of the Holy Land, Roman pilgrimage was on the rise, and images of the Veil were popular throughout England. In Rome, the Veil rivaled the bones of St. Peter in its appeal to visiting pilgrims. See Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion* (London: Faber & Faber, 1975), pp. 243–9; and Belting, *Bild und Kult*, pp. 251–2.
 15. The Temple’s Jubilee trumpets were brought from Jerusalem to Rome by Titus. See Julia Bolton Holloway, *The Pilgrim and the Book: A Study of Dante, Langland and Chaucer* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992), p. 61; and Josephus, *The Jewish War*, bk. 7, p. 162.
 16. Scholars Stephen Runcimann and Christopher Tyerman have shown that toward the end of the fourteenth century, crusading initiatives were not made by the English crown; instead, members of the nobility arranged their own campaigns. For instance, as Louis II, Duke of Bourbon, recruited men in France to fight against the Ottoman Muslims, he was joined by an English contingent arranged under John of Lancaster. This group was defeated at the Battle of Nicopolis in 1396, and their efforts represent the last and largest of the international crusades. English nobility went on crusade in the Baltic during the Hundred Years War, showing that crusading continued on a small scale. With the Lancastrians engaged thus, together with their control over Bolton Priory where the poem was produced, it seems altogether possible that the *Siege* was in fact commissioned to encourage other nobles to participate in the crusades. See Steven Runcimann, *The History of the Crusades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), vol. 3, pp. 455–64; and Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp. 265–72.
 17. The idea of the poem as a recruitment piece, as posited by Hamel, suggests that it was designed to appeal to upper-class English values regarding faith and social status; see Hamel, “*Siege*,” pp. 188–9. Such values are seen in the fourteenth-century continuation of Holy Land legacies and vow redemptions of deceased family members, and in noble households who took pride in their crusading heritage. For example, some decorated their homes with tapestries depicting crusade legends and displayed family relics which proved (or merely suggested) past crusade participation; see Tyerman, *England and*

- the Crusades*, pp. 260–1. See also Nicholas Paul, “Crusade, Memory, and Regional Politics in Twelfth Century Amboise,” *Journal of Medieval History* 31 (2005), 127–41; see 128–31; and Emma Mason, “Fact and Fiction in the English Crusading Tradition: The Earls of Warwick in the Twelfth Century,” *Journal of Medieval History* 14.2 (1988), 81–95. Contemporary popular literature and sermons testified to the importance of the crusades in spite of the many obligations at home and in France. Richard II paid lip-service to the crusade, offering his encouragement, though rarely any money, as he was interested in using the crusade to improve his public image; see J. J. N. Palmer, *England, France and Christendom, 1377–99* (London: Routledge, 1972), pp. 242–4.
18. Philippe de Mézières, *Epistre au Roi Richart*, ed./trans. G. W. Coopland (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1975), pp. 28–9 (English); pp. 101–2 (French).
 19. Philippe, *Epistre*, pp. 16–17 (English); pp. 89–90 (French).
 20. Along with these incentives for direct participation, the poem may also have been intended to increase support at a more indirect level: through public fund-raising. As Simon Lloyd has shown, by the thirteenth century, crusade had become increasingly institutionalized and integrated within English social structures to the extent that England’s most effective role in the crusades was through donations of gifts, legacies, alms, and monetary redemption of crusader vows. See Simon Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade, 1216–1307* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), pp. 239–46.
 21. Lawton identifies the courtly activities of hunting and hawking as signifiers of identity. In *The Siege of Jerusalem* this is a specifically Christian identity; see Lawton, “Titus,” 113–17.
 22. Lawton, “Titus,” 116–17.
 23. E. Ann Matter, “The Lamentations Commentaries of Hrabanus Maurus and Paschasius Radbertus,” *Traditio* 38 (1982), 138.
 24. *Ibid.*
 25. This translation was similar to the original and offered an eye-witness account of the Jewish War of 66–70 C.E. For more on source texts, see Hanna and Lawton (eds.), *Siege*, pp. xxxvii–liv; and Hanna, “Contextualizing,” 113, n. 9. For more on Josephus, see Hanna and Lawton (eds.), *Siege*, p. xxxviii. See also Josephus, *The Jewish War*, ed./trans. Henry St.-John Thackeray (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958; repr. 1997). Other more recent editions of *The Jewish War* exist; the Thackeray edition has useful notes.
 26. For more on medieval receptions of Josephus, see Guy N. Deutsch, *Iconographie de l’Illustration de Flavius Josèphe au Temps de Jean Fouquet* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986); see also Heinz Schreckenberg, *Die Flavius-Joséphus-Tradition in Antike und Mittelalter* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), p. xiv.
 27. In Guibert of Nogent’s account of Urban II’s first crusade sermon at Clermont in 1095, Urban compares the would-be crusaders to the army of the Maccabees mentioned in the biblical apocrypha; see I Maccabees 1:21 ff.

- This comparison of a Christian army with the Maccabees is, however, not original to Urban, and has been traced as far as Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856) who employs it in his *Commentaria in libros Machabaeorum*, PL 109 (Paris, 1864), 1125–1256. Guibert’s use of the comparison is an early occurrence of it in literature regarding twelfth-century western European crusaders. See also Fulcher of Chartres, asking, “In what way do the Franks differ from the Israelites of the Maccabees?”; *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed./trans. Frances Rita Ryan (Norton: New York, 1969), p. 58.
28. Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1953; repr. 1983), p. xi.
 29. Robert the Monk, *Roberti Monachi Historia Iherosolimitana*, RHC, Occ., vol. 3, bk. 9.24, p. 880. See also Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, p. xi.
 30. Luke 19:43–4. Translated in *The Catholic Bible: Douay-Rheims Version* (New York: Benzinger Bros., 1941). See also Luke 21:6, Matthew 24, Mark 13:2, Luke 21:6; and prophecies in Jeremiah 9:11 and 26:18, Micah 3:12, Lamentations 2, and Zechariah 14:2.
 31. Stephen K. Wright, *The Vengeance of Our Lord: Medieval Dramatizations of the Destruction of Jerusalem* (Toronto: The Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1989), pp. 1–18.
 32. Kathryn A. Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three Women and their Books of Hours* (London: British Library and University of Toronto Press, 2003); see her discussion of the Neville of Hornby Hours, pp. 131–9.
 33. *Siege*, lines 356, 982, 1019–20, and 1289–96. See also Luke 19:44, Luke 21:6, Matthew 24, and Mark 13:2. Old Testament prophecies in Jeremiah 9:11 and 26:18, Micah 3:12, Lamentations 2, and Zechariah 14:2.
 34. Matter, “Lamentations,” 142; and John Cassian, *Collationes*, ed. J. Pinchery, *Sources Chrétiennes* 54 (Paris, 1958), bk. 14.8.
 35. Matter, “Lamentations,” 143, n. 24; Lamentations 1:2; and Gregory the Great, *Moralia*, ed. Marcus Adriaen, CCSL 143A (Turnhout, 1979), 13.12.15, p. 677.
 36. Nicholas of Lyre, *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria . . . et Postilla Nicholai Lirani nec non additionibus Pauli Burgensis et Matthia Thoringi replicis*, ed. Johannes Meursius, 6 vols., Antwerp, 1634; and Nicholas of Lyre, *Postilla moralitates*, PL 113, 35–6.
 37. Philip D. Krey, “The Apocalypse Commentary of 1329: Problems in Church History,” in *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, eds. Philip D. Krey and Lesley Smith (Boston: Brill, 2000), pp. 267–88; see p. 272.
 38. Joachim is known to have influenced Nicholas’ writing through Alexander Minorita.
 39. Krey, *Nicholas of Lyra*, 267–8.
 40. Joachim of Fiore, *Liber de Concordia*, ed. E. Randolph Daniel, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 73:8 (Philadelphia: Independence Square, 1983), p. xii. The Daniel edition contains bks. 1–4. All references to the *Liber*, bk. 5 are from *Concordia Novi ac Veteris Testamenti* (Frankfurt a.M., 1964).

41. E. Randolph Daniel, "Apocalyptic Conversion: The Joachite Alternative to the Crusades," in *Joachim of Fiore in Christian Thought*, ed. Delno C. West, 2 vols. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1936), vol. 1, pp. 304–5; and Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachism* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969), pp. 4–6, 16–20.
42. Joachim, *Concordia*, bk. 2.1, ch. 2, p. 62; Daniel edition. Except where noted, all translations of Latin texts are my own.
43. Joachim, *Concordia*, bk. 5, ch. 106, 125r; Frankfurt edition.
44. Concerning Joachim's scriptural interpretation of Old and New Testament characters, see Joachim, *Concordia*, bk. 2.1, ch. 2, p. 62; Daniel edition.
45. Joachim, *Concordia*, bk. 2.2, ch. 7, p. 181; Daniel edition.
46. See Isaiah 8:1–10.
47. Joachim, *Concordia*, bk. 5, ch. 94, 122v; Frankfurt edition.
48. Joachim, *Concordia*, bk. 5, ch. 93, 122v; Frankfurt edition.
49. *Vita b. Joachimi abbatis*, in Herbert Grundmann, "Joachim of Floris und Rainer von Ponza," *Deutschen Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 16 (1960), 437–546. Joachim's *Vita* is on 528–39; see especially 529. The first of Joachim's three revelations while in the Holy Land was that God had rejected Jerusalem; *Vita*, pp. 532–3; and Grundmann, "Joachim," 492.
50. Joachim, *Concordia*, bk. 3.2, ch. 1, p. 287; Daniel edition.
51. Joachim, *Concordia*, bk. 3.2, ch. 2, p. 289; Daniel edition.
52. Joachim, *Concordia*, bk. 4.1, ch. 39, p. 394; Daniel edition.
53. Daniel (ed.), *Concordia*, p. xiii.
54. Joachim, *Concordia*, bk. 2.1, ch. 2, p. 64; Daniel edition.
55. Joachim, *Concordia*, bk. 4.1, ch. 27, pp. 393–4; Daniel edition. Joachim contrasts *ad litteram*, meaning a literal interpretation, with the typological (*ad concordiam*). In the reform of the Church, he sees a new Rome which will be rebuilt after its punishment, just as the old, temporal Jerusalem must be destroyed in order to build the eternal one; see Joachim, *Concordia*, bk. 5, ch. 107, 125rv; Frankfurt edition.
56. For medieval disputes over the relation between Rome and Babylon, see Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy*, pp. 6–9 and 397–8.
57. Joachim, *Concordia*, bk. 5, ch. 107, 125r; Frankfurt edition.
58. Joachim, *Vita*, p. 529.
59. Joachim of Fiore, *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (Frankfurt a.M., 1964), 168r. See also Roger of Howden, *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houdene*, ed. William Stubbs, RS 51, 4 vols. (London, 1868), vol. 3, pp. 77–9 and 80–6.
60. Roger of Howden, *Gesta regis Henrici secundi Benedicti Abbatis*, ed. William Stubbs, RS 49 (London, 1867), vol. 2, p. 153.
61. Joachim, *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, 168r.
62. Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy*, p. 9.
63. Marjorie Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future* (London: S.P.C.K., 1976), pp. 77–82.

64. Telesphorus of Cosenza, *Commentaria in Oraculum Cyrilli*, ed. E. Donckel, in *Die Prophezeiung des Telesphorus, Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 26 (1933), 29–104. See also Reeves, *Joachim*, pp. 79–82.
65. Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy*, p. 83, n. 5, and 82–4; and Morton W. Bloomfield, *Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth-Century Apocalypse* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1961), p. 226, for a list of references to Joachim in the writings of Wycliffe. See also Delno C. West and Sandra Zimdars-Swartz (eds.), *Joachim of Fiore: A Study in Spiritual Perception and History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1983), pp. 107–8. On Protestant attacks on the Roman Church, see Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy*, pp. 107–8.
66. Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy*, pp. 82–7.
67. Joachim of Fiore, *Super Hieremiam*, in Robert Barnes Moynihan, “Joachim of Fiore and the Early Franciscans: A Study of the Commentary *Super Hieremiam* (vols. 1 and 2),” unpublished PhD thesis, Yale University (1988).
68. M. Bloomfield and M. Reeves, “The Penetration of Joachimism into Northern Europe,” *Joachim of Fiore in Christian Thought*, ed. Delno C. West (New York: Burt Franklin, 1975), vol. 1, p. 108. Such was the close relationship between the Two Sicilies and the Angevin state that, at Messina, Richard I asked to meet Joachim. This meeting was noted by Benedict of Peterborough and Roger of Howden; see Bloomfield and Reeves, “Penetration of Joachimism,” 110. See Roger of Howden, *Gesta regis Henrici secundi Benedicti Abbatis*, ed. William Stubbs, *RS* 49 (London, 1867), vol. 2, pp. 151–5. For Joachim’s prophecies assessed, see Daniel, “Apocalyptic Conversion,” p. 309; see also pp. 310–20.
69. Ralph offers an account based in part on an interview between Joachim and the abbot of the Cistercian house of Persigny. For more on this relation, see Daniel (ed.), *Concordia*, p. xx.
70. Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. Joseph Stevenson, *RS* 66B (London, 1857; repr. Kraus, 1965), pp. 67–8. The *Chronicon Anglicanum* will be referred to in the notes as *CA*.
71. Ralph of Coggeshall, *CA*, p. 68.
72. Ralph of Coggeshall, *CA*, p. 69.
73. *Ibid.*
74. Ralph refers to Muslim rule of the Holy Land as “the reign of Babylon”; *ibid.*
75. *Ibid.*: “propter confusionem multiplicis idolatriae.”
76. According to Ralph, Christian sin has a politically crippling effect; see Ralph of Coggeshall, *CA*, p. 70.
77. The sinfulness of western Christendom was also attributed to corruption in the highest levels of the clergy. Even before the Papal Schism, medieval exegetes were suspicious of the broad powers of the Papal office. In Ralph’s account of Joachim’s prophecies, he writes that when Joachim was asked to elaborate on his prophecies concerning the Antichrist, he replied that the age of Antichrist had already begun, and that Antichrist had a foothold in Rome.

- See Ralph of Coggeshall, *CA*, pp. 68–9. Likewise, the friars were also seen as precursors, as seen in interpretations of Hildegard of Bingen's *Scivias*.
78. Ranulf Higden, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden monachi Cestrensis*, ed. J. R. Lumby, *RS* 41, 9 vols. (London, 1865–86), vol. 7, pp. 395–6. Referred to hence as *Polychronicon*.
 79. John Taylor, *The Universal Chronicle of Ranulf Higden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 73.
 80. *Appendix to the Polychronicon*, vol. 7, pp. 395–6.
 81. *Appendix to Polychronicon*, vol. 7, p. 396. Further information on the Schism is offered later in the work, where an addition to the *Appendix* describes Urban's struggles against the Crown of Naples; see *Appendix to Polychronicon*, vol. 8, pp. 53–5.
 82. David C. Fowler, *The Life and Times of John Trevisa, Medieval Scholar* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995), pp. 162–89. See John Trevisa, "Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum," *Richard FitzRalph's Sermon: "Defensio Curatorum," and Methodius' "The Begynning of the World and the Ende of Worldes,"* ed. Aaron Jenkins Perry, *EETS OS* 167 (London, 1925; repr. 1971).
 83. Walter Ullmann, *Origins of the Great Schism: A Study in Fourteenth Century Ecclesiastical History* (Leeds: Archon Books, 1967), pp. 132–7.
 84. Antonia Gransden has shown that Walsingham may have begun his career by writing the St. Albans continuation of Higden's *Polychronicon*. See her *Historical Writing in England: 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), p. 124.
 85. Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley, *RS* 28, 2 vols. (London, 1863); hereafter *HA*. See Walsingham, *HA*, vol. 1, p. 394 and vol. 2, pp. 121–5; and *The St. Albans Chronicle, 1406–1420*, ed. V. H. Galbraith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), pp. 3–21, 43–5, and 50–1.
 86. Walsingham, *HA*, p. 383.
 87. Walsingham's invective against papal corruption may not be explained by Ralph of Coggeshall as a direct source, but Ralph did help popularize the idiom or discourse that Walsingham uses.
 88. The October 1378 letters of the Papal legates sent to England from both Rome and Avignon request English aid against an Anti-Pope whom each side calls "the Antichrist." Both the French and Italian legates perceived the other as representatives of the Anti-Pope, and thus assumed the other to be in league with Antichrist; see Ullmann, *Origins*, pp. 104–5.
 89. *Annales Ricardi Secundi, Regis Angliae*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley, *RS* 64 (London, 1866), p. 175. See also *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381–94*, ed. L. C. Hector and B. F. Harvey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 106–10.
 90. As in other fourteenth-century works, such as *The Book of the Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, the loss of the Holy Land is attributed to the disunity of the Church; see *TBJM*, Prol.
 91. Higden, *Polychronicon*, vol. 8, p. 118.
 92. See ch. 2 for related discussion.

93. John Trevisa, *Polychronicon*, in *English Translations of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Joseph Rawson Lumby, RS 41, 9 vols. (London, 1879), vol. 8, p. 119.
94. See British Library, MS Additional 31042; see also Huntington Library, MS HM 128.
95. See Princeton University Library, MS Taylor Medieval 11. For this reference and those listed above, see Hanna and Lawton (eds.), *Siege*, pp. xiii–xxvii.
96. Hanna and Lawton (eds.), *Siege*, p. xxvii.
97. Margaret Harvey has shown that the English may not have begun their support of Urban VI for nationalistic reasons, but supported his election as that of the first choice of the Cardinals. However, later developments in the Hundred Years War suggest that English support for Urban was amplified several years after the split, and based on local loyalties. See Margaret Harvey, *Solutions to the Schism: A Study of Some English Attitudes, 1378–1409* (St. Ottilien: EOS, 1983), pp. 9–63.
98. Higden, *Polychronicon*, vol. 8, p. 118; and Trevisa, *Polychronicon*, vol. 8, p. 119.
99. *Siege*, lines 356, 982, 1019–20, and 1289–96, where reference to the Temple’s dismantling, “stone by stone,” is repeated.
100. For discussion of Jewish and Christian portrayals in Middle English sermons, see ch. 5.
101. See Millar’s insightful discussion of this scene where she expands on the theological significance of the cannibalism, Millar, *The Siege of Jerusalem*, pp. 89–92.
102. Narin van Court, “*Siege of Jerusalem*,” 227–48.
103. William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicanum*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. Richard Howlett, RS 82, 4 vols. (London, 1884). In translation, see *The Church Historians of England*, trans. Joseph Stevenson (London, 1856), vol. 4, p. 2. See also Thomas Wykes, *Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomae Wykes, Annales Monastici*, ed. Henry Luard (London, 1869), vol. 4, pp. 141–2, and 326–7; and Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550–c. 1307* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), p. 466.
104. Narin van Court, “*Siege of Jerusalem*,” pp. 239–44.

4. THE BOOK OF SIR JOHN MANDEVILLE: TEXT OF PILGRIMAGE AND SPIRITUAL REFORM

- I. John Mandeville, *The Defective Version of Mandeville’s Travels*, ed. M. C. Seymour, EETS OS 319 (Oxford, 2002); by page number, slash, then line number. I refer to Seymour’s edition of the Defective version as *TBJM* or *Book*. I. M. Higgins argues convincingly that the title of the Mandeville text should be *The Book of John Mandeville*; see his *Writing East: The “Travels” of Sir John Mandeville* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), pp. 17–27. Portions of this chapter also appear in my contribution to the collection, *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West*, eds. Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Amilcare Iannucci. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008 [in press].

2. Josephine Waters Bennett, *The Rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville* (New York: Modern Language Association, 1954), p. 70.
3. Aziz Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis* (London: Methuen, 1934; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1978), p. 25; and Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (London: Methuen, 1938; repr. New York: Kraus, 1965, 1970), p. 163.
4. See Donald R. Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and their Posterity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 54; and Tamarah Kohanski (ed.), *The Book of John Mandeville: An Edition of the Pynson Text* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001), Intro., p. x. Christian K. Zacher calls Mandeville a “Renaissance voyager,” in *Curiosity and Pilgrimage: The Literature of Discovery in Fourteenth-Century England* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), pp. 132 and 140.
5. Iain Macleod Higgins, “Defining the Earth’s Center in a Medieval Multi-Text: Jerusalem in *The Book of John Mandeville*,” in *Text and Territory*, eds. Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy A. Gilles (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), pp. 29–53.
6. Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), p. 248.
7. Rosemary Tzanaki, *Mandeville’s Medieval Audiences: A Study of the Reception of “The Book of Sir John Mandeville”* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003), p. 279.
8. Seymour dates the Defective version’s translation to post-1377, c. 1385; see Seymour (ed.), *Book*, p. xiii. The version is called “defective” because of pages missing from the manuscript; the lacuna is referred to as the “Egypt Gap” since the lost second quire would have included the discussion of Egypt present in the Insular version. It is unknown when the quire was lost, and no Insular manuscript – thought to be the source for the English translations – containing the Egypt Gap survives. The Insular version is believed to have been written in French, though the *Book*’s original provenance remains open to debate; see Seymour (ed.), *Book*, pp. xi; xi, n. 5; and xiv.
9. Seymour (ed.), *Book*, p. xii. The Defective version is believed to be the base text of both the Cotton Titus C xvi and Egerton 1982 manuscripts. Higgins has defined both these manuscripts as separate “versions” of the text in England; see Higgins, *Writing East*, pp. 19, 45, and 59. See also British Museum MS Cotton Titus C xvi, ed. M. C. Seymour, in *Mandeville’s Travels* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967); and British Museum MS Egerton 1982, ed. George F. Warner, in *The Buke of John Maundeuill* (London: Nichols and Sons, 1889). I will refer to these editions by page and line number when sections of the Defective version are lacking.
10. For Chaucer and the *Pearl*-poet, see Tamarah Kohanski (ed.), *The Book of John Mandeville: An Edition of the Pynson Text with Commentary on the Defective Version* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001), p. xviii. Regarding Pynson, see Seymour (ed.), *Book*, pp. xii and xii, n. 3; see also M. C. Seymour, “The Early English Editions of *Mandeville’s Travels*,” *The Library*, series 5:19 (1964), 202–7. For further

- discussion of the editions of *TBJM*, see Kohanski's survey spanning 1496–1725, in Kohanski (ed.), *Pynson*, Appendix, vol. 2, pp. 99–103.
11. For discussion of the base of Seymour's Defective edition, Queen's College, Oxford MS 383, as the closest possible copy to the translator's original, see Seymour (ed.), *Book*, p. xvi.
 12. This summary is brief in light of the fact that the manuscript history has already been discussed by other scholars. See Seymour (ed.), *Book*, pp. xiii–xxvi and 184–215; and (ed.), *Sir John Mandeville* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993), pp. 1–26; and (ed.), "The Early English Editions of *Mandeville's Travels*," *The Library* 5:19 (1964), 202–7; and Higgins, *Writing East*, pp. 6–62.
 13. Defective version, p. 5/6.
 14. *Mandeville's Travels*, ed. Seymour, pp. 3/36–4/2, based on British Museum MS Cotton Titus C xvi. I will refer to this version as "Cotton," followed by page number, slash, then line number. This statement regarding English translation does not appear in the Defective version. Here, as throughout, I will refer to Cotton when an English alternative is needed to the Defective version. According to Seymour, the Cotton version is a conflation based on a lost manuscript of the Defective version and a lost manuscript of the Insular version; see Seymour (ed.), *Mandeville's Travels*, p. xx; and *idem.*, *Book*, p. xix. I have used the Cotton MS rather than the Egerton because Higgins has suggested it as "a good proxy" for the authorial version, since the adaptations are "infrequent and minor"; see Higgins, *Writing East*, p. 24.
 15. For discussion of authorial identity and textual provenance, see Rita Lejeune, "Jean de Mandeville et les Liégeois," in *Mélanges de linguistique romane et de philologie médiévale offerts à Maurice Delbouille*, 2 vols. (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1964), vol. 2, pp. 409–37.
 16. Scholars in favor of a "Mandeville" persona include Paul Hamelius who attributes the account to Jean D'Outremeuse; see Hamelius (ed.), *Mandeville's Travels*, EETS OS 154 (Oxford, 1923), p. 8. Higgins also questions the Mandeville-writer's identity in *Writing East*, p. 52. More recently, Seymour has suggested that the text was first written in French on the Continent c. 1356, by an unknown writer from a Benedictine Abbey in northern France; see Seymour (ed.), *Book*, p. xi; and *Sir John*, pp. 1–24, 173. John Lerner has attributed authorship to Jean de Langhe; see "Marco Polo, Jean de Langhe, and Sir John Mandeville," in *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West*, eds. Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Amilcare Iannucci (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008 [in press]).
 17. Among those who believe Mandeville to be the genuine author who wrote the text in Anglo-Norman is Bennett; in her *Rediscovery*, pp. 10 and 90–216, she argues that the *Book* was written in England in 1357. Donald R. Howard agrees with Bennett in his "The World of *Mandeville's Travels*," *Yearbook of English Studies* I (1971), 4n; and in his *Writers and Pilgrims*, pp. 53–76. Christiane Deluz posits authorship in France but asserts that the text may still have been written by an Englishman; see her edition, *Le Livre de Merveilles du Monde* (Paris: CNRS, 2000), pp. 1–13.

18. Michael Bennett, “John Mandeville and the Anglo-French Moment.” Conference Paper: International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI, May 3–6, 2004.
19. Andrew Fleck has a similar argument for referring to the Mandeville-author as simply “Mandeville”; see Andrew Fleck, “Here, There, and In Between: Representing Difference in the *Travels* of Sir John Mandeville,” *Studies in Philology* 97.4 (2000), 381, n. 9. Regarding medieval reception of the text as original to Mandeville and an authentic travel narrative, see Higgins, *Writing East*, p. 52.
20. For Latin Vulgate quotations, see John Mandeville, *Liber Ioannis Mandevil*, ed. Richard Hakluyt, in *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1589), Hakluyt Society ES 39, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), vol. 1, pp. 23–79; referred to hence as *LIM*.
21. The Russian text appears with a French translation in *Pèlerinage en Terre Sainte de l’Igoumène Russe Daniel*, ed./trans. M. de Norov and A. de Norov (St. Petersburg, 1884); see also *The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel in the Holy Land, 1106–1107 A.D.*, ed./trans. C. W. Wilson, *PPTS* 4.2 (London, 1895); quoted in J. G. Davies, “Pilgrimage and Crusade Literature,” in *Journeys toward God: Pilgrimage and Crusade*, ed. Barbara N. Sargent-Baur (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992), pp. 10–11.
22. Burchard of Mount Sion, *De locis sanctis*, in *De Terra Sancta: Burchardus de Monte Sion*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent, in *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quatuor* (Lipsiae: J. C. Hinrichs Bibliopola, 1864). See also *The Holy Places*, ed./trans. A. Stewart, *PPTS* 12.4 (London, 1896).
23. On the sponge and reed see p. 7/12, the nail: p. 7/14, wood of the True Cross: pp. 7/20–8/15, and its discovery: p. 9/6–14. On the Crown of Thorns at Paris: p. 9/15–17, at Constantinople: p. 9/25–6, and spear-shaft in Germany: p. 10/23–4.
24. See his chapter on Jerusalem: pp. 27–43, the Church of Holy Sepulchre: p. 28/25, tomb: p. 28/5, and Mount Calvary: p. 29/10.
25. See Nicholas Love, *Nicholas Love’s “Mirroure of the blessyd lyf of Jesu Christ,”* ed. Michael G. Sargent (New York: Garland, 1992), ch. 43, pp. 176–8.
26. See George Williams (ed.), *The Itineraries of William Wey, Fellow of Eton, to Jerusalem, A.D. 1458 and A.D. 1462* (London: J. B. Nichols, 1857), p. 18.
27. From the sixth century onward, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was considered by many Christians to be the most sacred place in the Holy Land. For more information on the place of the Holy Sepulchre in the Jerusalem pilgrimage, see Dorothea French, “Journeys to the Center of the Earth: Medieval and Renaissance Pilgrimages to Mount Calvary,” in *Journeys toward God: Pilgrimage and Crusade*, ed. Barbara N. Sargent-Baur (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992), pp. 54–6; see also A. Grabois, “Medieval Pilgrims, the Holy Land and Its Image in European Civilization,” in *The Holy Land in History and Thought*, ed. M. Sharon (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988), pp. 64–9.

28. Mandeville recounts in rather bad Greek, “*Gros ginst rasis thou pestes thoy thesmoisy*,” and comments “bat is to say in Latyn, *Quod vides est fundamentum tocius mundi et huius fider*”; see p. 29/26–8.
29. Sir Richard Torkington, *Ye Oldest Diarie of Englysshe Travell, being the hitherto unpublished Narrative of the Pilgrimage of Sir Richard Torkyngton to Jerusalem in 1517*, ed. W. J. Loftie (London: Field and Tuer, 1884), p. 41.
30. For Helena’s discovery, see p. 30/14–18, the wall: p. 30/19–20, the middle of the church: p. 31/5–7, and where Christ was imprisoned: p. 31/8–11.
31. See also Mandeville’s description of a house within the city where Christ appeared to his disciples after his resurrection on p. 38/11–12.
32. Regarding the pillar, p. 34/4–5 and Peter: p. 34/6–7.
33. On the Last Supper, p. 38/7–8 and Gethsemane: p. 39/30.
34. For Magdalene, p. 40/24, Lazarus: p. 40/26, St. Thomas: p. 40/28, and Christ: p. 40/30.
35. On Galilee, p. 40/31, the Jordan: p. 41/13, and outlying cities: pp. 43–51.
36. Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski (eds.), *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p. 1.
37. Carruthers and Ziolkowski, *Medieval Craft*, p. 4.
38. Carruthers and Ziolkowski, *Medieval Craft*, pp. 5–6.
39. Higgins has shown that some versions of *TBJM* differed in their depiction of Jerusalem as the earth’s center. The Vulgate Latin version does not represent it as such, while the Continental French and other versions do; see Higgins, “Defining the Earth’s Center,” pp. 33, 48.
40. In basic outline, the T-O map is a circle incised by a horizontal diameter with a right-angle radius extending from the center to the bottom arc. Resembling the letter “T” within an “O,” the map represents the world divided in three, with Asia occupying its larger top section, and Europe and Africa each in the bottom two. The East was often oriented at the top of this map, and Jerusalem was usually located at its center. For a good discussion of T-O maps, see Scott D. Westrem (ed.), *Discovering New Worlds: Essays of Medieval Exploration and Imagination* (New York: Garland, 1991), p. xiii. For Jerusalem’s centrality, see John K. Wright, *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades* (New York: Dover Publications, 1925; repr. 1965), pp. 259–60. For Isidore, see David Woodward, “Medieval *Mappaemundi*,” in *The History of Cartography*, eds. J. B. Harley and David Woodward, in *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1987), vol. 1, pp. 301–2; and Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, *Fines Terrae: Die Enden der Erde und der vierte Kontinent auf mittelalterlichen Weltkarten* (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1992), pp. 49–54.
41. French, “Journeys,” p. 58; also John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994).

42. *Byzantine-Oxford Map*, Oxford, St. John's College 17, 6r; see French, "Journeys," 58.
43. *The Ebstorf Map*, in *History of Cartography*, eds. Leo Bagrow and R. A. Skelton (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964). The original copy of this map was destroyed in the 1940s. See Rolf Lindemann, "A New Dating of the Ebstorf *Mappamundi*," in *Geographie du Monde au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, ed. Monique Pelletier, in *Éditions du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, Mémoires de la Section de Géographie* 15 (Paris, 1989), 45–9; and Armin Wolf, "News on the Ebstorf Map: Date, Origin, Authorship," *ibid.*, pp. 51–68.
44. *The Hereford Map*, ed. Scott D. Westrem, in the *Terrarum Orbis Series: History of the Representation of Space in Text and Image* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001).
45. Valerie Flint, "Display Maps and the Laity: *The Hereford Mappa Mundi*," Center for Medieval Studies Wilkinson Lecture, University of Toronto, Canada, March 26, 1999. See also Westrem, *Hereford Map*, *passim*.
46. Sylvia Tomasch, "Medieval Geographical Desire," in *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, eds. Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), pp. 1–14; see p. 3. For more Christian cartography, see Michael Keith and Steve Pile, eds., *Place and the Politics of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 67–83; James Duncan and David Ley, "Representing the Place of Culture," in *Place/Culture/Representation* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 1–13; Trevor Barnes and James Duncan, *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape* (New York: Routledge, 1992); and D. Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).
47. For instance, a portolan chart of 1375, the *Catalan Atlas*, was contemporary with Mandeville but was not a T-O map; nevertheless, this chart represented the city of Jerusalem as spatially larger than any of the others. See Scott D. Westrem, "Against Gog and Magog," in *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, eds. Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy A. Gilles (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), pp. 61–2.
48. Higgins, "Defining the Earth's Center," p. 31.
49. Felix Fabri, Dominican monk at Ulm, made two pilgrimages to the Holy Land and produced accounts of his journeys, c. 1484: *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem* in *Les errances de Frère Félix*, eds. Jean Meyers and Nicole Chareyron (Montpellier: Université Paul-Valéry, 2000); see also *The Book of Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri*, ed./trans. Aubrey Stewart, *PPTS* 7–10, 4 vols. (London, 1896), vol. 7, pp. 364–9, and 376–7; vol. 8, pp. 416–18. French has shown that Fabri's narrative contains the "most elaborate" discussion of Calvary as the earth's allegorical center; see French, "Journeys," p. 45.
50. For more discussion on the earth's centrality, see Christiane Deluz, "Jérusalem, coeur et milieu de toute la terre du monde in *Le Livre de Jean de Mandeville*," in *Le Mythe de Jérusalem du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, ed.

- Evelyne Berriot-Salvadore (St. Etienne: Publications de l'Université de St. Etienne, 1995), pp. 91–9.
51. Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of Eternal Return*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), p. 13; cited in French, “Journeys,” p. 52. See also Dorothea R. French, “Mapping Sacred Centers: Pilgrimage and the Creation of Christian Topographies in Jerusalem and Roman Palestine,” supp. to *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1991); in this article, French traces the development of Jerusalem from Jewish sacred center to its new identity as a Christian one. See also Higgins, “Defining the Earth’s Center,” p. 34; and Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1959).
 52. Jerome, *Commentarii in Hezekielem*, ed. Franciscus Gloria, CCSL 75 (Turnhout, 1964), 2.5, pp. 55–6; referenced by book, chapter, and page number.
 53. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri xx*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 14.3, p. 21; cited in Higgins, “Defining the Earth’s Center,” p. 34.
 54. Bede, *De locis sanctis*, in *Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia*, ed. J. A. Giles, 6 vols. (London: Whittaker and Friends, 1843), vol. 4, pp. 402–43; especially p. 410.
 55. Woodward, “Medieval *Mappaemundi*,” pp. 286–370.
 56. For a good discussion Matthew Paris’ map, see Daniel K. Connolly, “Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris,” *The Art Bulletin* 81.4 (1999), 598–622.
 57. Higgins describes a renewal of focus on Jerusalem as the earth’s center in texts which were written after the First Crusade; he speculates that, for Mandeville, the idea of Jerusalem as an earthly center was important during the time of political, economical, and ecclesiastical upheaval; see Higgins, “Defining the Earth’s Center,” pp. 34–6.
 58. The image exuded an oil which pilgrims collected and were said to be healed of their sicknesses by it.
 59. See Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 112–18; see also Penny Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1991), pp. 16–17, 41, and 134.
 60. The Prologue is one of the passages of the *TBJM* which was original to Mandeville.
 61. Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, RHC, Occ., vol. 3, pp. 231–309; see p. 300. Raymond Etienne, *Directorium ad passagium faciendum*, RHC, Doc.Arm., vol. 2, pp. 365–517; see p. 367. William of Boldensele, *Die Edelherren von Boldensele oder Boldensen*, ed. C. L. Grotefend (Hanover: Hofbuchhandlung, 1855), *Relatio*, Prologue. Marino Sanudo, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis super Terrae Sanctae recuperatione*, ed. Joshua Prawer (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), Prologue.

62. Bennett writes that *TBJM* belonged to a trend in which dedicatory works on crusading were made for Edward I; these included Pierre Dubois' first drafts of his *De recuperatione terrae Sanctae*, ed. Charles-Victor Langlois, in *Collection du Textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire*, IX (Paris: A. Picard, 1891). Ramón Llull advocated military and missionary efforts against the Muslim Turks; see Pamela D. Beattie, "The Relationship of Crusade and Mission in the Writings of Ramon Llull: An Introduction to and Edition of Llull's *Liber de acquisitione Terre Sancte*," unpublished PhD thesis, University of Toronto, Center for Medieval Studies, 1990. Marino Sanudo's *Liber secretorum* was a blue-print for crusading dedicated to Edward in 1306–7, later revised and dedicated to Philip in 1321. In England, Friar Roger of Stanegrave addressed his treatise, *Le livre qi se appelle li Charboclois d'armes, du conquest de la Terre Sainte*, to Edward III; see British Library, MS Cotton Otho D. V.
63. Bennett, *Rediscovery*, pp. 54–5.
64. *Ibid.*; see also *The Knights Hospitallers in England: being the report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova for 1338*, ed. L. B. Larking, *Camden Society* 65 (London, 1857); this source lists property in most English counties and names thirty-four knights, forty-eight squires, and thirty-four chaplains.
65. New members were received until 1357. See E. J. King, *The Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land* (London: Methuen, 1931), pp. 306–7; and Beatrice W. Siedschlag, "English Participation in the Crusades, 1150–1220" (unpubl. doctoral dissertation, Bryn Mawr, 1939).
66. For a fuller picture of interactions of crusading and the Hundred Years War, see Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990 and 1999), vol. 1, pp. 132–55; and vol. 2, pp. 523–33.
67. J. J. N. Palmer, *England, France, Christendom, 1377–99* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. 180–98.
68. The year 1360 began the Peace of Brétigny in which Edward III relinquished his claim to the French crown in exchange for sovereignty over the south-western regions of France. See also Bennett, *Rediscovery*, p. 15.
69. While there were English participants in the First Crusade, their numbers were eclipsed by the number of French recruits and leaders. Moreover, of the early accounts of the crusades that originated in France, one most popularly known as the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, or *The Deeds of God [Done] through the Franks*, designated the French in particular as members of a divine community enlisted to fight for a holy cause; see Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos et cinq autres textes*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *CCCM* 127A (Turnhout, 1996).
70. William of Boldensele, *Des Edelherrn Wilhelm von Boldensele Reise nach dem gelobten Lande*, pp. 244–6; and Jean de Langhe, *Un traictie de l'estat de la terre sainte*, pp. 306–7.

71. Cited in Higgins, *Writing East*, pp. 180–2; see *LIM*, vol. 2, pp. 377–8. See also *The Buke of John Maundeville*, ed. George F. Warner (Westminster: Nichols, 1889), pp. 128–9.
72. Higgins, *Writing East*, p. 36.
73. In 1337–56 during the book's production, Edward III was fighting for what he believed to be his heritage: the crown of France. Bennett has cited the English medieval point of view that "the French were intent to dis-herit their neighbors"; see Bennett, *Rediscovery*, p. 70.
74. The papal interpolation is in the Cotton, Defective, Egerton, and one Insular Latin manuscript. This Latin manuscript is Durham University MS Cosin V.iii.7, fol 83v; also printed in Seymour's commentary to his Bodley edition; see M. C. Seymour, *The Bodley Version of "Mandeville's Travels," EETS OS 253* (London, 1963), p. 175, n. 146–7; cited in Higgins, *Writing East*, pp. 258–60. The interpolation is in all English manuscripts except the two texts of the Bodley version: Oxford, Bodleian MS Rawlinson D99 and e Musaeo 116; see Kohanski (ed.), *Pymson*, p. xxv, n. 29. Higgins speculates that the addition originated in a copy of the Insular version, now lost; see Higgins, *Writing East*, p. 254. The papal curia was officially headquartered in Avignon between 1309 and 1378, with the Great Schism occurring in 1378 until 1417.
75. Among these are Dubois; see Dubois, *De recuperatione*, p. 1. In Sanudo's work, there is no dedication to Edward, only to Philip of Valois, the new king of France; see Sanudo, *Liber secretorum*, p. 1. In England, in the same year of Philip's taking the cross (1332–3), Friar Roger of Stanegrave addressed his treatise, *Du conquest de la Terre Sainte*, to Edward III; see Stanegrave, *Du conquest*, pp. 1–2. The English Parliament also believed that Edward was interested in crusade; see Bennett, *Rediscovery*, pp. 70–1.
76. His first route to Jerusalem, for example, is from Albert of Aix's itinerary of the First Crusade. His information on Asia is also drawn from crusading sources, such as that by Sanudo.
77. This Latin version circulated widely in England; see Higgins, *Writing East*, p. 264.
78. Originally from *LIM*, pp. 76–7. Translation adapted from Hamelius (ed.), *Mandeville's Travels*; cited in Higgins, *Writing East*, pp. 263–4.
79. Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims*, pp. 67–8; see also Atiya, *Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 161–5.
80. As Fleck has demonstrated, Mandeville's meeting with the Sultan may be construed in light of the *Book's* description of Islam as an "imperfect vision" of Christianity; see Fleck, *Here, There*, pp. 390–3. See also Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 86.
81. Such use of Islam in order to present moral lessons to Christians was common in the medieval period; see Suzanne Conklin Akbari, "The Diversity of Mankind in *The Book of John Mandeville*," in *Eastward Bound: Medieval Travel and Travellers, 1050–1500*, ed. Rosamund Allen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 249–77; see p. 251. See also *The Sege*

- of *Melayne*, ed. Sidney J. Herrtage, *EETS ES 35* (London, 1880; repr. New York, 1975).
82. *LIM*, p. 45; see translation and citation in Higgins, *Writing East*, pp. 121–2.
 83. For the medieval Christian conversion of Islam, see Atiya, *Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 52, 75–94.
 84. The interview with the Sultan occupies the same position in the Defective as it does in the Cotton, Egerton, and Latin Vulgate versions.
 85. Sebastian I. Sobecki, “Mandeville’s Thought of the Limit: The Discourse of Similarity and Difference in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*,” *RES* 53.211 (2002), 334. See also Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, ed. Joseph Strange (Coloniae: J. M. Heberle, 1851); and *The Dialogue on Miracles by Caesarius of Heisterbach*, trans. H. von E. Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland, 2 vols. (London: G. Routledge, 1929); text referred to hence as *Dialogus*.
 86. For more on the vengeance sermons, see Cole, *Preaching*, pp. 70–4, 143–4, and 154–6.
 87. *Dialogus*, vol. 2:10.47, p. 210; cf. vol. 2:11.23, pp. 258–9; listed by volume, book, section, and page.
 88. The Vulgate Latin version includes a call to actual, public crusade after Mandeville’s interview with the Sultan; see Higgins, *Writing East*, p. 122. This call is not in the Continental and Insular versions, suggesting that these had more interior than practical aims. Regarding Muslim and Christian transformations, see Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).
 89. For more extensive discussion of manuscript collation, see Susanne Röhl, *Der Livre de Mandeville im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert* (Wilhelm Fink: Paderborn, 2004). In this study I refer to “guidebook” and “itinerary” as interchangeable terms. This conflation does not describe fourth- through thirteenth-century works, many of which could be delineated into either guidebooks or itineraries. As Davies has shown, by the fourteenth century, very little difference between these terms remained; see Davies, “Pilgrimage and Crusade,” pp. 1–13.
 90. For Lydgate, see Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.4.20; cited in Bennett, *Rediscovery*, p. 291. For historical works, see Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawlinson B.216; and Oxford, Bodleian, MS Laud. 619. Cited in Bennett, *Rediscovery*, pp. 292–4.
 91. See *Piers Plowman*, etc., in Cambridge, UL, MS Dd.I.17; *Handlyng Synne*, in Devon, PA: Barbado Hill, MS Mr. Boies Penrose, Mannyng formerly bound with this manuscript. See religious Latin works in Oxford, Balliol, MS No. 239; for Susan, Daniel, and Egypt, see San Marino, CA, Huntington Library, HM 114. Cited in Bennett, *Rediscovery*, pp. 289–92.
 92. See Staunton and Tundale in London, BL, MS Royal 17.B.XLIII; Ten Commandments . . . Church Fathers, see Oxford, Bodleian, MS Laud. 619; in Bennett, *Rediscovery*, pp. 291, 293.
 93. For *Gospel*, etc., see Dublin, Trinity College, MS E5.6; in Bennett, *Rediscovery*, p. 294.

94. For *Proverbs* and *Life*, see Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawlinson B.216; for *Translation* and *Charter*, see London, R. H. Robinson MS 16 and 17, Pall Mall; see Bennett, *Rediscovery*, pp. 292, 294.
95. See London, BL, MS Arundel 140; see Bennett, *Rediscovery*, p. 293.
96. See *Piers Plowman* with *TBJM* in a manuscript planned as a single unit in London, BL, MS Harley 3954; San Marino, CA, Huntington Library HM 114; and Cambridge, UL, MS Ff.V.35. Cited in Bennett, *Rediscovery*, pp. 291–3.
97. This passage reiterates the spiritual gains associated not only with reading and listening to pilgrim accounts, but also with copying them. See Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawlinson D.101 (12919); cited in Bennett, *Rediscovery*, p. 295.
98. Higgins, *Writing East*, p. 47.
99. Seymour (ed.), *Book*, p. xii.
100. Bennett, *Rediscovery*, pp. 29–30.
101. Higgins, *Writing East*, pp. 124–32.
102. Bennett, *Rediscovery*, p. 31.
103. While the Defective version does not contain this material it is probable that the lost pages may have at one time included it: page tabs in the manuscript (Oxford, Queen's College, MS 383) still remain, and the account exists in the French versions. Alternate readings to the Defective Version are taken from the Cotton Version represented in *Mandeville's Travels*, ed. M. C. Seymour (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967).
104. Psalms 71:17–18; translation from *The Bible: Douay-Rheims Version*, ed. William H. McClellan (New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc., 1941). All biblical translations in this chapter are from Douay-Rheims.
105. For medieval ways of comprehending the marvelous and the divine, see Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 3–30.
106. For more on place and the medieval imaginary, see Jean Richard, *Les récits du voyages et de pèlerinages*, in *Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental* 38 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981); and Jean Richard, “Voyages réels et voyages imaginaires, instruments de la connaissance géographique au moyen-âge,” in *Culture et travail intellectuel dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Center national de la recherche scientifique, 1981), pp. 211–20.
107. Mary B. Campbell, “The Object of One's Gaze: Landscape, Writing, and Early Medieval Pilgrimage,” in *Discovering New Worlds: Essays on Medieval Exploration and Imagination*, ed. Scott D. Westrem (New York and London: Garland, 1991), pp. 3–15; see p. 5.
108. Campbell, “Object of One's Gaze,” p. 6.
109. Yi-Fu Tuan, “Geopiety: A Theme in Man's Attachment to Nature and Place,” in *Geographies of the Mind*, eds. David Lowenthal and Martyn J. Bowden, et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 11–39. See also John Kirtland Wright, *Human Nature in Geography* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 250–85.

110. Gillian Overing and Marijane Osborn, *Landscape of Desire: Partial Stories of the Medieval Scandinavian World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), p. 52.
111. For more about the notion that life is a pilgrimage of the soul, see Hebrews 11:13.
112. For more on the image of the Vale Perilous, see Higgins, *Writing East*, p. 221.
113. The Latin Vulgate version emphasizes this private aspect: it contains a caveat to not only journey physically, but to also make a pilgrimage of the soul – a charge echoing Augustine. See Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, ed. Joseph Martin, *CCSL* 32 (Turnhout, 1962), 1.10.10. See also *LIM* 14.3 and 24.45; cited in Bradley (ed.), *The Danish Version of “Mandeville’s Travels,”* p. 16, n. 3.

5. BEYOND THE CELESTIAL AND TERRESTRIAL
 JERUSALEM: THE PROMISED LAND IN
 WESTERN CHRISTENDOM

1. See Jean LeClercq’s formative study on what he calls “peregrinatio in stabilitate” to describe interior, monastic pilgrimage, in “Monachisme et pérégrination du IXe au XIIe siècle,” *Studia Monastica* 3 (1961), 33–52.
2. Anselm, *Letter* 117, “*Ad Willelmum adolescentum*,” in *S. Anselmi opera omnia*, ed. F. S. Schmitt (Edinburgh: T. Nelson, 1946), vol. 3, pp. 252–5; see p. 254.
3. Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection*, ed. Evelyn Underhill (London: J. M. Watkins, 1948), bk. 2, ch. 21.
4. Guillaume de Deguileville, *Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, ed. J. J. Stürzinger (London: Roxburgh Club, 1893). Among related works, Guillaume also wrote *Le Pèlerinage de l’âme*, c. 1355–58, ed. J. J. Stürzinger (London: Roxburgh Club, 1895); and *Le Pèlerinage de Jhesucrist*, c. 1358, ed. J. J. Stürzinger (London: Roxburgh Club, 1897).
5. Guillaume de Deguileville, *The Pilgrimage of the Lyfe of the Manhode*, ed. Avril Henry, *EETS OS* 288 and 292 (New York, 1988). Unless otherwise noted, all quotations from the *Lyfe* are taken from Henry’s edition.
6. Kathryn Margaret Walls, “*The Pilgrimage of the Lyf of the Manhode: The Prose Translation from Guillaume de Deguileville in its English Context*,” unpublished PhD thesis, University of Toronto (1975), pp. 1–3. Also Rosamund Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery: Some Medieval Books and Their Posterity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 146–8.
7. Eugene Clasby estimates fifty-three French manuscripts of the first recension and only nine of the second; see Eugene Clasby (ed.), *Guillaume de Deguileville: The Pilgrimage of Human Life* (New York and London: Garland, 1992), p. xv. For a thorough description of the French manuscripts, see Henry (ed.), *Lyfe*, pp. xxi–xcv. Citing Edmund Faral, Walls estimates seventy-five French manuscripts of all three Deguileville texts; see Walls, “*Pilgrimage*,” p. 1, n. 3; and Edmund Faral, “Guillaume de Deguileville, Moine de Chaalis,” in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, ed. Charles Samaran (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1962), p. 38.11, n. 1.

8. For the poetic translation, see *Le Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine*, translated by John Lydgate (1426), ed. F. J. Furnivall, EETS ES 77, 83, 92, in 3 vols. (London, 1904); repr. as one vol. 77 (New York, 1973). Regarding the attribution to Lydgate, see Walls, “Pilgrimage,” pp. 111–28; and Kathryn M. Walls, “Did Lydgate Translate the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*?” *Notes and Queries* 24 (1977), 1033–5.
9. Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, bk. 15, ch. 1. See also Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, eds. D. E. Dekkers and John Fraipont, CCSL 38–40 (Turnhout, 1956), bk. 40: *Psalmum* 121.2.
10. Hilton, *Scale*, bk. 2, chs. 21–3. See also *Pearl*, in *The Poems of the Pearl Manuscript*, eds. Malcolm Andrew and Ronald Waldron (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1987); Elizabeth Zeeman, “Piers Plowman and the Pilgrimage to Truth,” *Essays and Studies* 11 (1958), 1–16; and Gerhart Ladner, “Homo Viator: Medieval Ideas on Alienation and Other,” *Speculum* 42 (1967), 233–59.
11. Walls, “Pilgrimage,” pp. 20–1. William Langland, *Piers Plowman*, ed. A. V. Carl Schmidt, *Piers Plowman: A Parallel-Text Edition of the A, B, C, and Z Versions* (London and New York: J. M. Dent, 1995), Passus 5, B.
12. John Burrow, *Ricardian Poetry: Chaucer, Gower, Langland and the Gawain Poet* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), p. 52. For a discussion of these parallels, see Walls, “Pilgrimage,” 157–85.
13. Furnivall (ed.), *Lyfe*, pp. 45–6, cf. 58–60.
14. Similar symbolic relations between virtual travelers and crusaders have been identified in works mentioned elsewhere in this study, including *The Siege of Jerusalem*, which invited audiences to identify with the “crusading” Romans as well as with the persecuted Jews.
15. *Lyfe*, bk. 1, lines 1–4. This and subsequent references to the *Lyfe* are taken from Avril Henry’s edition of the prose text; cited by book and line number.
16. Susan K. Hagen discusses the mirror as a medieval metaphor of the mind’s eye. For further information on this and medieval optics in the *Lyfe*, see Susan K. Hagen, *Allegorical Remembrance: A Study of “The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man” as a Medieval Treatise on Seeing and Remembering* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1990), p. 107 and ff.
17. See also biblical correlations to I Corinthians 13:12.
18. For an extended discussion, see Katherine H. Tachau, “Seeing as Action and Passion in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,” in *The Mind’s Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, eds. Jeffrey Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 336–59.
19. Revelations 21:10–11, 23–4.
20. The depiction of the Cherub parallels that of the angel appointed to guard the entrance into Eden in Genesis 3:24.
21. The difference between Guillaume the author and Guillaume the dreamer becomes distinct when the author describes a protagonist who has not yet received baptism or the eucharist. As a monk, Guillaume the author would have already participated in these sacraments.

22. The inclusion of a form of Passion meditation was common practice in contemporary medieval penitential manuals. See, for example, Henry of Lancaster's *Le Livre de seyntz medicines*, ed. Emile J. F. Arnould, Anglo-Norman Text Society, No. 2 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1940), pp. 39–40 and 132–64. Catherine Batt's new edition of the work is eagerly anticipated.
23. For more on the Mill of the Host, see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 312–13.
24. Compare reference of Christ as Champion to those in William Durandus' *Rationale*. See also Langland, *Piers Plowman* B, Passus 16.163, 17.52, and 18.17.
25. Guillaume refers to Cluny, the Benedictine foundation established in the early tenth century, and Cîteaux, a Cistercian Abbey in central France founded c. 1097. Henry notes that "the idea of the monastery as 'l'antichambre au Paradis' may derive from the thirteenth-century Huon de Mery's *Tournement of Antichrist* (Huon de Mery, p. 104), a psychomachia drawing on Raoul de Houdenc's allegories, in which this title is given to the Abbey of St. Germaine des Prés when the protagonist finally enters it." See Henry (ed.), *Lyfe*, p. 501; citing K. B. Locock, annotator, *Le Pèlerinage de la vie Humaine, translated by John Lydgate*, ed. Furnivall. See also Huon de Méry, *Li Tornoiemenz Antecrist von Huon de Méry, nach den Handschriften zu Paris, London und Oxford*, eds. Stéphanie Orgeur and George Wimmer (Orléans: Paradigme, 1994).
26. Bernard of Clairvaux, *De laude novae militiae ad milites templi*, ed. J. Mabillon, *PL* 182 (Paris, 1879), 921–39; hereafter referred to as *De laude*.
27. See *De laude*, 931–2.
28. For a fuller description of interior pilgrimage, see Dee Dyas, *Pilgrimage in Medieval English Literature, 700–1500* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001), pp. 205–31.
29. J. M. Keenan, "The Cistercian Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*," in *Studies in Medieval History*, vol. 2, ed. John R. Sommerfeldt (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1976), p. 167.
30. Aziz S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1938; repr. New York: Kraus Reprints, 1965, 1970), pp. 95–102, 155–60.
31. Fretellus, "*Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth*" et sa *Description de la Terre Sainte Histoire et Édition du Texte*, ed. P. C. Boeren (New York: North Holland Publishing, 1980), p. 14.
32. Keenan, "Cistercian Pilgrimage," 183. See also John G. Demaray, "Pilgrim Text Models for Dante's *Purgatorio*," in *Studies in Philology* 66 (1969), 1–24; and Pseudo-Bede, *De locis sanctis libellus*, *PL* 94 (Paris, 1862), 1179–90.
33. Hagen, *Allegorical Remembrance*, pp. 115–20.
34. On the armor as "materialization" of faith, see Hagen, *Allegorical Remembrance*, pp. 116–17; and on the visualization of faith, pp. 70–9.
35. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sancti Bernardi opera*, ed. Jean Leclerq, et al., 8 vols. in 9 (Rome: Editions Cisterciensis, 1974), vol. 7, letter 64, pp. 157–8.

36. Bernard, *Letters*, letter 431; cited by Keenan, “Cistercian Pilgrimage,” p. 177. For a Cistercian nun’s affective pilgrimage, see Herbert Thurston, *The Stations of the Cross: An Account of their History and Devotional Purpose* (London: Burns and Oates, 1914), pp. 16–19.
37. Keenan, “Cistercian Pilgrimage,” 170; and Bernard of Clairvaux, *The Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux*, ed./trans. Bruno Scott James (London: Burns and Oates, 1953), p. 461.
38. Penny Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1991), p. 69.
39. For more on Bernard’s role in the crusading movement, see Cole, *Preaching*, pp. 41–61.
40. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Tractatus de consideratione ad Eugenium Papam*, in *Opera*, ed. J. Leclerq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais, 8 vols. (Rome: Editions Cisterciensis, 1957–78), vol. 3, bk. 2, pp. 393–493; cited in Cole, *Preaching*, pp. 57–60.
41. Coopland (ed.), *Songe*, pp. 4–6.
42. Devotional themes influenced his other works; see, for instance, Philippe de Mézières, *Philippe de Mézières’ Campaign for the Feast of Mary’s Presentation*, ed. William E. Coleman, in *Toronto Medieval Latin Texts* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981).
43. Lynn Staley, *Languages of Power in the Age of Richard II* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), pp. 132–7 and 327.
44. Carolyn P. Collette, “Reading Chaucer through Philippe de Mézières: Alchemy, the Individual, and the Good Society,” in *Courtly Literature and Clerical Culture*, eds. C. Huber and H. Lähnemann (Tübingen: Attempto, 2002), pp. 177–94; and Paul A. Olson, *The Canterbury Tales and the Good Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 49–60.
45. Staley, *Languages of Power*, pp. 136–7.
46. Staley, *Languages of Power*, p. 132.
47. Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du Vieil Pèlerin*, ed. G. W. Coopland, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969); referred to hence as the *Songe*, and cited by book number and line number.
48. Coopland (ed.), *Songe*, p. 21. For other sources for the *Songe*, see *ibid.*, pp. 21–8.
49. The relationship between the French people and the Trinity had previously been established, as is seen in the chivalric imagery of the *fleur-de-lis*.
50. Philippe, *Songe*, p. 40; cf. bk. 2: 160r.
51. Philippe, *Songe*, bk. 3, lines 302–8, and bk. 3, lines 275–82.
52. Philippe, *Songe*, bk. 3, line 373.
53. Baldric of Dol, *Historia Jerosolimitana, RHC, Occ.*, vol. 4, pp. 13–15.
54. Philippe de Mézières, *Epistre au Roi Richart*, in *Philippe de Mézières’ Letter to King Richard II: A Plea for Peace between England and France*, ed./trans. G. W. Coopland (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1975), pp. 117–18 and 44. Referred to hence as “Epistre,” by page number; citations of French text and page numbers given before that of the English.

55. Philippe, *Epistre*, pp. 126 and 52–3.
56. Philippe, *Songe*, bk. 3, lines 374–5. “Doulez Aignelet” refers to Christ. Translations of the *Songe* are mine.
57. See “la malediction de leur guerre,” Philippe, *Epistre*, pp. 105–6 and 32.
58. Philippe, *Songe*, bk. 3, line 375.
59. Philippe, *Songe*, bk. 3, lines 257–8.
60. Philippe, *Songe*, bk. 3, lines 202–3; and see Deguileville, *Lyfe*, bk. 4, lines 6744–8.
61. Philippe, *Songe*, bk. 3, lines 245–6, for reading; for Church, bk. 3, lines 264–6; and trials, bk. 3, lines 269–71.
62. Philippe, *Songe*; regarding peace with England, see bk. 3, lines 311–12 and 332–5; fair trade, bk. 3, lines 331–2; and crusade, bk. 3, lines 335–40.
63. Philippe, *Epistre*, pp. 80 and 8.
64. Regarding the Hundred Years War, see Philippe, *Epistre*, pp. 78–9 and 6; Great Schism, pp. 93–4 and 21; and the loss of Jerusalem, pp. 99 and 29.
65. Philippe, *Epistre*, pp. 94 and 21–2.
66. Philippe, *Epistre*, pp. 104 and 31.
67. Philippe, *Epistre*, pp. 103 and 20. Guillaume refers to Christ as God’s champion; see Guillaume, *Lyfe*, bk. 1, lines 2119–21.
68. Philippe, *Epistre*, pp. 105 and 31.
69. Philippe, *Epistre*, pp. 134–5 and 61.
70. Philippe, *Epistre*, pp. 144 and 70.
71. Philippe, *Epistre*, pp. 144–5 and 70.
72. Philippe, *Epistre*, pp. 117–18 and 44.
73. Philippe, *Epistre*, pp. 118 and 45.
74. Philippe, *Epistre*, pp. 119 and 46.
75. Philippe, *Epistre*, pp. 118–19 and 45–6.
76. Philippe, *Epistre*, pp. 121 and 47–8.
77. For quotation, see Daniel K. Connolly, “Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris,” *The Art Bulletin* 81.4 (1999), 598–622; see 598.

CONCLUSION

1. Thomas Brinton, *The Sermons of Thomas Brinton, Bishop of Rochester (1378–89)*, ed. Mary Aquinas Devlin, *Camden Series* 85 and 86, in *Rotuli parliamentorum Angliae hactenus inediti, 1279–1373*, eds. H. G. Richardson and George Sayles (London, 1954), vol. 1, p. 47; vol. 2, pp. 339 and 362. Both the chancellor and Bishop Brinton’s remarks are cited in Christopher T. Allmand, *The Hundred Years’ War: England and France at War, c. 1300–c. 1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 138.
2. J. M. Keenan, “The Cistercian Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in Guillaume de Deguileville’s *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*,” in *Studies in Medieval History*, vol. 2, ed. John R. Sommerfeldt (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1976),

- p. 170; see also M. R. James, *The Apocalypse in Art* (London: H. Milford, 1957), p. 64.
3. On Bishop Despensers's "crusade" of 1382, see Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley, RS 28A, 2 vols. (London, 1863), vol. 2, pp. 71–2; and *Wykeham's Register*, ed. T. F. Kirby, 2 vols. (London: Simpkin and Co., 1899), vol. 1, pp. 198–211. For John of Gaunt's "crusade" of 1386, see Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, vol. 2, p. 143; and Thomas Walsingham, *Chronicon Angliae*, ed. Edward M. Thompson, RS 64 (London, 1874; repr. Wiesbaden: Kraus Reprints, 1966), pp. 368–9.
 4. Elizabeth Siberry, "Criticism of Crusading in Fourteenth-Century England," in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1985), pp. 127–30.
 5. Peter Roberts, "Politics, Drama, and the Cult of Thomas Becket in the Sixteenth Century," in *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, eds. Colin Morris and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 234–5.
 6. See Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion* (London: Faber & Faber, 1975), pp. 300 ff.
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 8. Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*, ed. B. J. H. Biggs, EETS OS 309 (Oxford, 1997), bk. 1, ch. 1; bk. 2, ch. 1; bk. 3, chs. 43, 49, and 61.
 9. Thomas More, *A Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, in *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, ed. T. M. C. Lawler, et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963–81), bk. 4, p. 134.
 10. *Lollard Conclusiones* (1394), in *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif*, ed. Walter Waddington Shirley, RS 5 (London, 1858), pp. 360–9. In their *Conclusiones* posted on the doors of Parliament, the Wycliffites condemned "offerings to blind roods and deaf images of wood and stone"; see *Fasciculi*, pp. 364–5.
 11. Selections from Anne Hudson (ed.), *English Wycliffite Sermons* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), vol. 1, pp. 86 and 117; and Anne Hudson (ed.), *Two Wycliffite Texts*, EETS OS 301 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 61–2; both cited in Dee Dyas, *Pilgrimage in Medieval English Literature, 700–1500* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001), pp. 143–4.
 12. Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (Toronto: J. M. Dent, 1977), pp. 198–200.
 13. Edgar C. Gibson, *The Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England* (London: Methuen, 1904), p. 561; cited in Finucane, *Miracles*, p. 201.
 14. Nicholas Watson, "Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's *Constitutions* of 1409," *Speculum* 70.4 (1995), 822–64.
 15. N. H. Keeble, "'To Be a Pilgrim': Constructing the Protestant Life in Early Modern England," in *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to*

- Bunyan, eds. Colin Morris and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 240–56. See also Finucane, *Miracles*, pp. 200–4; *Middle English Sermons*, ed. Woodburn O. Ross, *EETS OS* 209 (London, 1940), p. 42; and *Speculum Sacerdotale*, ed. Edward H. Weatherly, *EETS OS* 200 (London, 1936), pp. 13–16.
16. Regarding the popularity of the shrines, Duffy writes that “there is a quantifiable curve of popularity and decline in the fame and effectiveness of every medieval shrine, which has no apparent relation to distance or proximity to the Reformation.” See Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 195; and Diana Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (London and New York: Hambledon, 2000), pp. 199–201.
 17. According to John Hilsey, Prior of the Dominicans at Bristol, Latimer preached “of pylgremages, &c. yn the whyche he dyd vehemently perswade towarde the contrary, that the people ware nott a lyttle offendyd”; see *John Hilsey to the Chancellor of the Diocese of Worcester, 2 May 1533*, printed in *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, eds. George Townsend and S. R. Cattley, 8 vols. (London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley, 1837–41), vol. 7, Appendix (unpaginated); cited in Duffy, *Stripping*, pp. 379–80.
 18. For more on Latimer, see Roberts, *Politics*, pp. 214–18.
 19. Roberts, *Politics*, p. 212; and Keeble, “To Be,” p. 240.
 20. *The Royal Injunctions of 1536 and 1538*, in *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, eds. W. H. Frere and W. M. Kennedy, Alcuin Club 14–16 (London, 1908–10), vol. 2, pp. 1–11.
 21. *Royal Injunctions*, vol. 2, pp. 1–11; Roberts, *Politics*, pp. 217–29; and Keeble, “To Be,” p. 240.
 22. Regarding the First Royal Injunctions, see Roberts, *Politics*, pp. 218 and 239; and Webb, *Pilgrimage*, pp. 248–9. Regarding Latimer’s assertion that the Holy Blood at Hailes was duck’s blood, see Finucane, *Miracles*, pp. 206–8.
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 24. Brefeld, *Guidebook*, p. 34.
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28. Kantorowicz, *King's Two*, pp. 267–8.
29. Guillaume, *Lyfe*, bk. 1, lines 2119–21.
30. Suzanne M. Yeager, “An Edition: *The Meditacyons on the Tyme of the Masse*,” unpublished MPhil thesis, Oxford University (1997). See also Brinton, *Sermons*, bk. 2, p. 362.
31. Pseudo-Bede, *In Psalmos*, PL 93 (Paris, 1862), Psalm 90:10; *The Canterbury Psalter*, ed. M. R. James (London: Lund, 1935), fols. 163v–164r; Anselm of Laon, *Glossa ordinaria*, PL 113 (Paris, 1879), Psalm 90:10; and Peter Lombard, *Commentariorum in Psalmos*, PL 191 (Paris, 1880), Psalm 90:10. Langland, *Piers Plowman* B, Passus 16.163, 17.52, and 18.17.

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